















THE

# CALCUTTA REVIEW.

VOL. XXXII.

JANUARY--JUNE, 1859.

*No man, who hath tasted learning but will confess the many ways of profiting by it; who, not content with stale receipts, are able to manage and set forth new projects to the world; and were they but as the dust and cinders of our feet, so long, as a virtuous notion they may yet serve to polish and brighten the armoury of truth, even for that respect they were not utterly to be cast away.* MILTON

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## CONTENTS OF No. LXIV.

JUNE, 1859.

### ART. I.—NON-REGULATION JUSTICE.

1. The Punjab Code of Civil Justice. Lahore. 1855. ... 251

### ART. II.—CHRISTIAN ORIENTALISM.

1. Correspondence relating to the Establishment of an Oriental College, London. Reprinted from the "Times" with Notes. London: Williams and Norgate. 1858. 279
2. Statement on the formation of a Christian Vernacular Education Society for India. 1858. ... .. *ib.*

### ART. III.—THE OWNER OF THE SOIL.

1. Report on the Revenue Administration of the Lower Provinces, for 1856-57. ... .. 308
2. The Revenue Hand Book, by J. H. Young, Esq. ... *ib.*
3. Official Papers, Manuscript. ... .. *ib.*

### ART. IV.—BENGALI BARBERS.

1. Sabda Kalpadrum. By Rajah Rudhakant Bahadur. Vol. V. Article, Caste. Calcutta. 1766. ... .. 335

### ART. V.—THE ECONOMICS OF PUBLIC WORKS.

1. Standing Orders of the Department of Public Works; compiled under the authority of the Most Noble the Marquis of Dalhousie, Governor General of India, in concert with the Military Board, by Lieutenant Colonel J. T. Boileau, Superintending Engineer, North Western Provinces. Roorkee. 1852. ... 344
2. Code of Regulations for the Public Works Department under the Local Governments of Bengal, the North West Provinces, and the Punjab, and for the Minor Administrations under the direct control of the Government of India. Published by authority. Calcutta. 1858. ... .. *ib.*

## ART. VI.—THE EXAMINATION SYSTEM.

1. Report of Her Majesty's Civil Service Commissioners. 380
2. General Orders of H. R. H. the Commander-in-Chief of the British Army. ... .. *ib.*
3. Regulations for conduct of Examinations for Appointment in the Indian Civil Service. ... .. *ib.*
4. Middle Class Examinations. ... .. *ib.*
5. General Orders of the Governor General in Council with regard to the Examination of all Junior Members of the Civil Service. ... .. *ib.*
6. Papers on the subject of the Instruction of Native Employés in the Civil Department. ... .. *ib.*

## ART. VII.—VEDIC INDIA.

1. Rig-Veda Samhita. Translated from the Original Sanskrit. By H. H. Wilson, M. A., F. R. S. Vols. I, II., III. London: W. H. Allen and Co. 1857, &c. ... .. 400
2. India, Three Thousand Years Ago. By John Wilson, D. D., F. R. S. Bombay. 1858. ... .. *ib.*
3. Ethnology of India. By R. C. Latham, M. A., M. D., F. R. S. London. 1859. ... .. *ib.*
4. Original Sanskrit Texts. By J. Muir, Esq., D. C. L. Part I. The Mythical and Legendary Accounts of Caste. London: Williams and Norgate. 1858. ... .. *ib.*

## ART. VIII.—CAREY, MARSHMAN AND WARD.

1. The Life and Times of Carey, Marshman and Ward, embracing the History of the Serampore Mission. By John Clark Marshman. In two Volumes. London: Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts. 1859. ... .. 437

## IX.—CRITICAL NOTICES OF WORKS ON INDIA AND THE EAST PUBLISHED DURING THE QUARTER. •

1. The Wife and the Ward; or, a Life's Error. By Lieutenant Colonel Edward Money, Turkish Service, (late Bengal Army), Author of "Twelve

Months with the Bashi-Bazouks." London: Routledge. 1859. ... ..	xxv
2. The Armies of the Great Powers. By Lascelles Wrexall. London: W. H. Allen and Co. 1859. ... ..	xxxiii
3. A Year's Campaigning in India from March 1857 to March 1858. By Julius George Medley, Captain, Bengal Engineers, and Garrison Engineer of Lucknow. With Plans of the Military Operations. London: W. Thacker and Co. 1858. ... ..	xxxvii
4. The Christian Statesman and our Indian Empire, or, the Legitimate Sphere of Government Countenance and Aid in the Promotion of Christianity in India. An Essay which obtained the Maitland Prize for the Year 1858. By the Rev. G. F. Maclear, B. A. MacMillan and Co., Cambridge. 1859. ... ..	xl
5. A History of Arabia Felix or Yemen from the commencement of the Christian Era to the present time, including an account of the British Settlement of Aden. By Captain R. L. Playfair, Madras Artillery; and First Assistant Political Resident, Aden. Bombay. Printed for Government. 1859. ... ..	xlii
6. Recollections of a Winter Campaign in India in 1857-58. With drawings on stone from the Author's designs. By Capt. Oliver J. Jones, R. N. London: Saunders and Otley. 1859. ... ..	xliv
7. Annals of the Indian Rebellion, 1857-58. Part I. May, 1859. Calcutta. ... ..	xlvi
8. From New York to Delhi, by way of Rio de Janeiro, Australia and China. By Robert B. Minturn, Jr. New York. D. Appleton & Co. 1858. ... ..	ib.
9. Scripture and Science not at variance; with remarks on the Historical Character, Plenary Inspiration, and Surpassing Importance of the Earlier Chapters of Genesis. By John H. Pratt, M. A., Archdeacon of Calcutta. Third Edition. London: Thomas Hatchard. 1859. ... ..	xlix
10. Life of Rama. ... ..	liv
11. Life of Alexander the Great. Secundra Orphan Press, Agra. 1854. In the English and Urdu Languages. ... ..	
12. Literary Remains, consisting of Lectures and Tracts on Political Economy of the late Rev. Richard Jones, formerly Professor of Political Economy at the East India College, Haileybury; and Member	

of the Tithe and Charity Commissions. Edited with a Prefatory Notice, by the Rev. William Whewell, D. D., Master of Trinity College. London, John Murray, 1859. ... ..	lv
13. Twelve Years of a Soldier's Life in India: being Extracts from the Letters of the Late Major W. S. R. Hodson, B. A., Trinity College, Cambridge: First Bengal European Fusiliers, Commandant of Hodson's Horse. Including a personal Narrative of the Siege of Delhi and Capture of the King and Princes. Edited by his Brother, the Rev. George H. Hodson, M. A., Fellow of Trinity College, Cambridge. London: John W. Parker and Son. 1859. ... ..	liv
14. A Brief Sketch of the Rise and Progress of the Orissa Mission. Cuttack: 1858. ... ..	lxv
15. The Life or Legend of Gaudama, the Budha of the Burmese, with annotations, Notice on the Phon-gies, or Buddhist Religions, and the Ways to Nibban. By the Right Rev. P. Bigandet, Vicar Apostolic of Pegu. Rangoon: Pegu Press. 1858. ... ..	lxvi
16. Muktabali Natak (The Garland of Pearls): a Comedy. By Káli Dás Sarma. Calcutta. Sambat 1915. ... ..	lxix
17. Bastur Bichâr (Lessons on Objects); by Ramgati Nyaratna. Calcutta. Sambat 1915. ... ..	lxx
18. Turkiya Itihâs (Turkish Tales); translated into Bengali Verse, by Dwârkâ Nath Kundu. Calcutta. 1859. ... ..	ib.
19. Inyan Briksha (The Tree of Knowledge); for the use of Schools. By Bipra Charan Chakrabarti, of the Church of Scotland Mission. Part IV. Calcutta. 1859. ... ..	lxxi
20. Parnell's Hermit—a Bengali Translation. By Hari Mohan Gupta. Serampore. 1859. ... ..	ib.
21. Muhammadar Jiban Charitra, Muhammadiya Rajyer Purabritta. (Life of Muhammad, founded on Arabic Authorities, to which is added a History of Muhammedanism). Calcutta. Printed for the Calcutta Christian Tract and Book Society. ... ..	lxxii
22. Purâbritta Sar, (Manual of History.) Part I. By Bhodeb Mookerjee. Calcutta. ... ..	ib.
23. Kalikontuk Natak, (The Manners of the Kali Yuga); a Drama. By Shri Nârayan Chattaraj Gunanidhi. Serampore. ... ..	lxxiii

21. Mad kháyoú baria dáya, jút thákar ki upaya (Drink-  
ing is a necessary evil, the question is—how to  
keep Caste.) By Tek Chand Thakur. Author of  
“Alláder Ghareí Dulál.” Calcutta. 1266. ... lxviii







THE  
CALCUTTA REVIEW.

JUNE, 1859.

ART I.—*The Punjab Code of Civil Justice.* Lahore. 1855.

PEOPLE at home are becoming wonderfully intelligent with regard to India, but they are still apt to treat this vast conglomerate of nations, languages, religions and systems, as a unit, and to deduce conclusions with regard to one part of the country from facts ascertained of another. Some degree of inaccuracy may be excused, when we find the Secretary to the Supreme Government of India, during this last year, giving orders with regard to the disposal of certain *Mahomedan Sikhs* imprisoned in the Fort of Allahabad: he should have been called upon to point them out, and he would probably excuse himself on the plea, that he had never left Calcutta, and was unaware that a Sikh was necessarily as much a Hindoo, as a Baptist is a Christian.

It might be supposed at any rate, that the laws Civil and Criminal, being imposed by the Conqueror, would at least be in some degree the same; but such is not the case, as may be illustrated by the following anecdote. Two College friends entered the Civil Service at the same time, and had sat at the feet of the same Gamaliel, but chance separated them, and one drifted off to the Northern Provinces of India, and the Punjab, while the other settled down on a judgment seat within a hundred miles of Calcutta, and the following correspondence passed between them during this very year. The Bengal Judge reports, that he had been two weeks trying one Civil case, with the assistance of Barristers from Calcutta pleading on either side: each lawyer had ten pleas, each plea ten sub-divisions, each sub-division ten points, and each point ten headings. All current work was suspended, the lawyers dined alternately with the Judge and the Magistrate, talked against each other all day, joked with each other all the evening, and returned together to Calcutta, after pocketing thousands of Rupees of the unhappy litigants, perhaps to play over the same game in the Court of appeal. The Punjab Commissioner reports, that in that same interval he had decided fifty cases, Civil or Criminal, in appeal, had held

his Court of Assizes, had in his capacity of special Commissioner hung, or transported to the Andamans, ten mutineers, corresponded on every possible sort of subject with every possible sort of person from the Chief Commissioner down to a poor fellow, whose house had been plundered during the troubles: he had traversed in circuit some two hundred miles, disposed of endless revenue cases, and visited many spots requiring his personal inspection: he had allowed no lawyer, English or Native, to cross the threshold of his Court, and yet the cases which were thus disposed of, involved large sums, the Courts were popular, the people not ill-governed or complaining, and the Code of law was in small compass, and accessible to all. *Still*, with such striking differences as savour more of different races and kingdoms than of two provinces of the same Presidency, should this Punjabee Commissioner in his furlough venture to the India House, he would be hailed as fresh from the date groves of Bengal: he, the rash, daring Judge, who decided cases by the score, would, from the stain of the original sin of his nomination, or from the mark of the beast that stuck to him on the Register of public servants, be mournfully expostulated with on the lethargy, and unpopularity, of *your* Sudder Court at Calcutta. You might as well consult him as to the average out-turn of milk in the Bengal Cocanut, or the monthly earnings of a Bengal Chumar.

What has caused this difference? People at home have never realized the vast expansion of the empire: the same sword conquered, and it was imagined that the same laws might control, the whole country; and so in Lord Wellesley's time, when we conquered the Northern Doab from the Mahrattas, and appropriated half of the Oudh apple, the Regulations, cast in an antique mould for Bengal, were re-enacted for Hindustan as far as the Jumna. Now the measure of esteem in which anything from the swamps and jungles of Bengal, is held by the residents of the imperial cities of Delhie, Agra, and Lahore, was never very high, and it was very much as if the laws of the Scotch settlers of the new plantations in Ulster had been re-enacted for the sovereign people of Surrey and Middlesex, and in the twenty-five years following their introduction the burden of these alien codes became intolerable, and all idea of extending them to newly conquered Provinces was abandoned. They had been formed on the worst type of English law, as it existed in the Courts of Westminster before the days of Romilly and Brougham: in practice their object was to keep the Plaintiff from meeting the Defendant, to involve the issues, and to decide, if possible, on irrelevant and technical grounds; to spin out the case tediously, expensively, perversely, and fraudu-

lently, and to make the Courts of Justice a curse and a lottery. Nor were the Judges unworthy of the machine over which they were called to preside: the rejected Collector of Revenue, the dangerous Magistrate, the sickly man with a few years more to serve, the hard bargains of the Company, were avowedly the staple of the occupiers of the Judicial bench, and it cannot be wondered at, that the Courts stunk considerably in the nostrils of Britons and Indians. From time to time the Legislative tinkers in Calcutta produced some delightful new measure, some new variety of technical manipulation, and thus when the science was daily becoming more involved, and the results more uncertain, the want of something in the way of a Code was universally felt. Thus it happened, that in all the Provinces not under the yoke of circumscription, there were little flirtings with codification; gallant Captains, or intelligent Commissioners, produced little bantlings, which were allowed to exist because they were so little, but their objects were laudable, being the confronting of the parties, the precise definition of issues, and decision on the merits. The Regulation Authorities looked on pityingly and sarcastically, until the great blow was struck in the Punjab, and a Code of Law produced, which has now been adopted in Oudh. The tables have been turned, and the system of the Agra Government will soon be ground to powder between the two millstones set in motion by the most illustrious of its own sons, unless a material alteration be introduced.

The little Codular flirtations above alluded to never got much beyond rules of Procedure. The massive legacy of Marshman is but an arrangement of Rules of Procedure, Macpherson's valuable work treats on Procedure only. The Punjab Authorities thought that they were bound to feel their way to a codification of law, *positive law*: they did not resuscitate wholesale defunct codes of the Hindus and Mahomedans, which had no more living influence than the Laws of Justinian; these laws were allowed just weight, when local custom had not abrogated them, or when they were not themselves opposed to the principles of an enlightened Government. They consulted the wants of the people and their feelings, collated their customs, and on open subjects adopted the approved principles of English Jurisprudence.

All laws are modified by an equity,\* which is another word for "*the common sense of the majority*." Custom is the soul of all Law in India, as it is of agricultural Law in England. It had long been felt, that unless our Regulation Courts were reformed, we must have equity Courts, and this gave birth to our Special Commissions, and settlement Courts, to do the pressing

\* Jus tacito et illicitato hominum consensu et moribus expressum.

work of which the unwieldy Civil Courts were incapable, for we had chosen to go back to the letter of the old Hindu and Mahomedan law, which had long been practically modified by the consent of the people. It is more than probable that these Codes were never in their most palmy days so rigorously carried out, as they have been in the frame-work of the Regulations: thus harsh law had in the new Code to be tempered by the Equity of custom, not in different Courts, indulging in different procedures, and surrounded by fresh shoals of sharks, but by the same Judge, who, after informing himself fully, could decide on reason and equity. As our English Common Law is formed of the debris of Civil Law, so the Common Law of the Punjaub is formed of the debris of the Hindu and Mahomedan Codes.

The Legislative Council of India have set up giants of their own construction merely for the sake of knocking them down. What nonsense has been written on the subject of the re-marriage of Hindoo widows! In practice it has always been the case among the ruling tribes in the Punjaub, and the new law now quietly sanctions it. Then again as regards the disinherittance on account of change of religion, and all the wild assertions about property in land being dependent on the fulfilment of funeral rites, we know, that in a country like Asia, land is the only real and tangible property, and owing to the weight of the land tax, and the interference of the ruler, that property is but a limited one; and yet we choose to suppose, that these primitive conditions were ever practically in force as regards land as a matter of law, and not of force. The fact is, that they have not, since the invasion of the Mahomedans, been in force any more than the laws of Leviticus among the Jews, or the Canons of the Church or the Anglican Rubric among the Protestants of England. The Legislative Council prided themselves on the bold forward movement of the "Lex loci," and the Bengalee Baboo frothed, and the Heathen furiously raged together within the cities of Madras and Calcutta, the creations of our own nation, but visit Upper India, and look around the thousands of Mahomedans, Rajpoots, Jats, and other tribes, enjoying their shares of their ancestral villages in undisturbed harmony with their Hindu brethren, with no remnant of any feeling of rancour, no reproach, and no debasement: on the contrary they rejoice with each other on the occasion of their weddings, and mourn together at their funerals. A Hindoo father would regret were his son to abandon the tenets of his ancestors, as an English father would to see his heir become a Plymouth Brother or a Mormonite, but the voice of the neighbourhood, and now the written law of the Code, would not tolerate his disinherittance.

If any traveller were to visit the Punjaub, and to ask on what

basis the civil rights of all inhabitants, of whatever lineage or persuasion, were grounded, a small volume, which he might peruse in one day, would be placed in his hands, and he would be informed, that this volume, in English or the Vernacular, was accessible at every Station from the Khyber pass to the Jumna, where the servants of the Queen of England represented English power and English justice to the people of the country.

We have, during our wanderings, stood in many Courts of Justice in many and far different countries and cities, from the venerable halls of Westminster to the Athenian Areopagus, from the practical Courts of France to the disreputable and disorderly justice shops of Turkey, and we state without fear of challenge, that in no Courts in the world have the poorer classes such ready access to their Rulers, such a certainty of being heard, and of something being done to right them, as in the rude, and sternly rapid, Courts of the Punjaub. Much of this is owing to the unbroken chain of responsibility, which connects the head of the Government with the smallest official of the lowest grade, but much more to the existence of the Code. What a picture of native life does the perusal of such a Code afford, for it must be remembered that it deals with realities, not with fictions. We imagine first the Court, crowded with the parties themselves, into which no lawyer nor Vakeel dare enter; the strange contrast of physiognomies, the endless variety of demeanours according to the age, the sex, or the religion and residence of the litigants. Mark the traits of individual character which come out. Some weak old woman takes up a cause, not her own, and with undying energies carries it day by day through every Court in the Provinces, and has exhausted the bounds of justice, before her fancied injury has been atoned. Some haunt the Courts, and take a melancholy delight in processes. Some sue, as paupers, for fabulous sums, to which they have no manner of right, but to which their ancestors once laid an unfounded claim. In comes the agriculturist, the sturdy yeoman, fresh from his retired village, from his oxen and his jungles, and so oblique is his vision, so entirely convinced is he of his own right, that he denies everything which seems to tell against it, and proves a great deal too much; in come the witty town people, the disreputable fellow with curls down his back, the red-turbaned banker, with books kept in a dishonest ambiguity, and trimmed this morning for a purpose, the rascally notary reminding us of his type and representative in England by the cringe of his gait, and the speciousness of his delivery; there sits a young wife, with her boy, who has wheedled a dying old man to disinherit his children by the elder wife, and as a fair pendant, there is a trio of grey-bearded shopkeepers, who have a scheme to defraud

a baby brother, the offspring of their father's old age, of his share of the inheritance. Over the hubbub of voices is heard from time to time the form of solemn asseveration, which passes the comprehension of the rustic witness, for he will not repeat after the Court officer, and interrupts the form of oath by blurting out the facts of the case, with which he is full charged; some, reminded that they are to speak the truth, repudiate as an insult the notion that they could do otherwise; sometimes by a mistake a Hindoo is sworn as a Mahomedan, or a heavy Sikh, who has been stolidly repeating, suddenly brightens up, when the form ends with the words of his own national salutation—"Health to the Guru," which he shouts out, as if he now thoroughly understood what he was after. Hundreds leave the Court with a curse on their lips, at not obtaining what they sought, but worse than the curse, which falls lightly like a spent shot to the ground, is the fawning blessing of the party who wins, but who fails to recognize the stern justice of the decision, and only fancies that he detects the good will or the partiality of the Judge. Alas! alas! weary days, and sometimes weary nights, for the mind has to take in the all the details of each complication in an intellectual grasp, and often in dreams will the odious skein of thought untwine itself again, and the night's rest be lost in trying to solve hopelessly involved intricacies, and to arrive at a decision which conscience can call just.

But the scenes, suggested by these pages of the Code, are not confined to the narrow walls of the Court. Busy Fancy carries the reader into boundless space, and, as each class of cases or rule of law develops itself, the whole is enacted in the retina of the eye, for the actors and the local features are well known. We see the crowded Bazaar, the very store where the cloth was bought, for the price of which the action is now laid; there—there is the house, where the foolish old man took home his second wife to be a very Helen to his family; those men, sitting in council on the steps of the temple of Siva, are planning the very scheme of fraud which you have spent the morning in traversing; in that shop the witnesses are affixing their seal to a deed, a few steps on, two grey-beards are trying to settle a string of disputed items betwixt two partners, who knew each other too well; that belted messenger has just served a process, and that crowd in the lane yonder is assembled for a sheriff's sale of the property of a defaulter; and far away from the busy market place, in some distant village, beneath the branches of a wide spreading peepul, a contract of marriage between two children is being made. Seated on benches, consecrated for that purpose by old custom, are the notables of the village; there are the dignified salutation, the conventional phrases, the distribution of

sugar, and all the details which custom may have sanctioned. A few years, and another scene is being acted: the parents of the betrothed refuse to adhere to their pledge, then come the wordy war, the appeal to their Gods and the whole village, the vain attempt at reconciliation, the old grey-beards trying to reason, the loud laugh of impetuous and contemptuous youth, the mutual abuse and recrimination, and then the rushing off of one or other, to buy a stamped paper, and file a petition in Court.

No wise man despises the customs of a great people, and no foreign Government can afford the waste of power in doing so; still the rulers of the Punjaub find themselves compelled to give decisions opposed to public opinion, and in fact try to mould it to a more enlightened form. Thus it happens that many a respectable suitor goes home dejected, for we cannot restore wives forcibly to their husbands, or allow them to be sold like cattle, and it is a great blow to a man passed fifty years of age to find for the first time of his life, that it is of no use being a Brahmin, where all are in the eyes of the law equal; often have we heard melancholy regrets on the part of those, who were a little elevated above their fellows, that the new Government had no respect for the respectable class, and the respectable customs of the country. During the first year of occupation we asked a native friend, of what the Punjabees chiefly complained under the new regime: the answer was remarkable, "that we allowed the village trees to be cut by the camp follower, that we did not compel every runaway wife to return to her husband, and thirdly that *'we did the evil deed,'*" by which dark phrase he afterwards explained, that we allowed cows to be killed. We on the other hand availed ourselves of the assembly of the agricultural classes for the purpose of settling their revenue, to impress upon the headmen of each village, that, whatever codes might subsequently be adopted, they must abandon three objectionable customs, which were "the killing of their infant daughters, the burning of their widowed mothers, and the burying alive of lepers;" the promulgation of these dogmas, which each headman was obliged to repeat, as a creed of faith, created a great sensation, and the Zemindars went home to their villages chuckling at the considerable reduction of the Government demand, and chaunting the first rudimentals of the sixth Commandment. At a farther illustration of the depth of moral degradation to which the people, in spite of their valour, wealth, and independent character, had sunk, we may mention that the\* descendants of the founder

\* It is scarcely necessary to add that this privilege was not conceded to the Bedees, the lineal descendants of Gooroo Nanuk: on the contrary they were warned that the practice would be continued at the peril of their lives and estates. At the time



of the Sikh faith gravely petitioned, that to them might be preserved the time-hallowed privilege of killing their daughters; and, as if to shew how ridiculous poor human nature can be, while the Hindu petitioned loudly and longly that the slaying of cattle by the Mahomedans might be interdicted, the Mahomedans, in the flush of their newly acquired liberty, requested that the Hindus might be forbidden to cut off the heads of goats according to their practice, and be restrained to the more orthodox, Levitical, mode of cutting the throat of the poor beast accompanied by a prayer.

A three-fold decision of civil suits has been humorously made among the Natives, to which, being very comprehensive, we may conveniently adhere—Money, Women, Land. We propose to notice each class separately. The cases under the first class are of endless variety, embracing the petty parole debt or loan, and the complicated accounts of Bankers and Merchants, extending over a series of years. The great system of credit in India is a real wonder, and the most striking proof of the high civilization of the people, and the best reply to those who accuse them of barbarism. Civilized they are, but in the oriental type, and the extent to which credit is now unduly given, is partly owing to the laxness of their habits of business, and partly to the restriction of the monetary currency. In India, as in other oriental countries, there is no fixed price to anything but grain, for everything else a bargain has to be made; in England the wholesale dealers have settled the price, and nothing remains to the honest retailer but to sell; in India every settlement of account is a complication, and there is a painful feeling in the mind of the Judge, that either party is trying to get an undue advantage over his adversary. Endless are the varieties of trades, the wholesale dealer, the travelling merchant, the banker, the broker, the tradesman, the great commercial houses, and their agents and correspondents, and step by step we descend to the miserable retail dealer of convertibles, or costermonger, but all give credit, all fight to the last farthing. Money is

of our accession there was not a single female in the Bedee tribe: the relation of sister, aunt, and daughter was unknown. Year after year the census is now taken, and during the past autumn we had a review of all the little Bedee girls, amounting to nearly two hundred, who have been born under our rule at the single town of Deruh Baba Nanuk: the children varied from eight years to a few months, and should the British power be swept away, these ransomed lives will remain as a monument of our humanity: the males of the family are computed at two thousand, and the females can scarcely exceed three hundred, and it will take thirty years, or more, to bring the two sexes to the proper equilibrium. Some of the little girls had been married, but no Bedee has yet attained to the honour of being a maternal grandfather. Yet these were the most sacred, the most powerful of the Sikh tribes, at whose feet Maharaja Runjeet stood, who were loaded with presents, and had become the curse of the country. Facts like these indicate the character of the people for whom we had to legislate.

the one, and only fulcrum, on which Indian Society turns: the revolution of the wheel of fortune has raised peasants to thrones, and reduced princes to the streets, the line between the unsuccessful felon, who is chained in the gaol, and the successful freebooter, who, clothed in silks and shawls, is honoured by the British Government, is a dubious one. Rank therefore, or virtue, without money, just go for nothing: no sooner does a man, of whatever degree he may be, get a little money, or employ under Government, than he improves his food and clothing, buys a horse, and goes about with a train of followers, raises his home a storey, shuts up his wife behind brick walls, plants a garden, and becomes in common parlance "a great man;" the position of his children is altered, and, when the fortune is exhausted or the employment ceases, their future is embittered. A man of low caste, when he gets rich, tries to improve himself in that respect also. We have known a Chumar, on whom fortune smiled, pass up into a Kubal, but with Hindus this is a matter of difficulty. Among the Mahomedans it is wonderful how the race of the man betters itself with his clothing: the poor needy Shaikh, dealer in grain, in which denomination most converted Hindus merge, becomes a Koreshy or Ansary, and, if the market be favourable, he expands into a Syud. Of this we have a notorious case in the family of Azizooddeen and Noorooddeen, who first cloaked their origin as Barbers under the affected humility of Fuquers; as their descendants became wealthy, part have become "Ansars," and part "Syuds." In the same manner Nuwab Imamooddeen, after plundering the fairest provinces of the Punjab, has lately discovered that his Hindu ancestors were Rajpoots, and not "dealers in wine."

The Civil Court becomes the favourite arena of the whole population: every kind of claim is brought forward, debts that have run on for years in books of the rudest kind, are cooked up and entered with new dates; the release of mortgages is sued for, which have gone for generations, where the home has been rebuilt frequently in the interval; one man sues for money lent by his deceased father to the deceased relation of another; claims of inheritance, according to law or custom whichever suits the claimant; claims for jewels deposited, or pawned; claims for arrears of wages, balances of account, injury to caste or honour, are all thrust in. The wonder is at first, how these matters were under the former rule disposed of, but a little reflection will show, that they were not *disposed of at all*. The Courts are at once a novelty and a curse; the period of limitation of suits is being gradually reduced from twelve to six years, and now, except for bonds, to three years, and eventually it may be still further reduced to twelve, or six months in some cases. As liberty may

degenerate into license, so too great facility for litigation rouses the worst passions; like strong drink it overpowers weak heads, and demoralizes the whole population, by the rancour and perjury which it produces.

The second great class of civil actions relate to women: it has been broadly asserted, that there is no case brought forward in the Criminal Courts, which cannot be traced directly or indirectly to that after-thought of the Creative Power, whose special vocation it has been to bring woe to man. There is no doubt also that a very large proportion of civil actions arises in every country from this cause, simply because there has been from the beginning of human affairs an attempt to keep them down, and debar them from the equality to which they are entitled. It is self-evident that the Old Testament was written by a man: the tenth Commandment was clearly reduced to that vehicle for ideas, which we call "words," by one of the male sex; had Miriam been commissioned to legislate to the Israelites, she would probably have expressed herself otherwise. However unjustly trodden down, nature will raise its head, and is generally triumphant; any unjust law of restoration against the equity of things is sure to strike in the rebound. Thus it has happened as regards the law of women both in England and India. The wife has often been the ruin of the house in both countries: in England, though denied a legal existence while under coverture, though her property has been at the mercy of her tyrant, though unjust laws have prevented her being heard in the case which affects her honour, her fortune, and her status, she has generally won in the end, or made her victor rue his success.

So also in India. From her earliest hour she has been oppressed: no congratulations mark her birth; her poor mother's heart fails her and her groanings recommence when she hears that a female child has been born; no care watches over her childhood to mark the budding beauty, and to develop the dawning intellect; if by the mercy of the British Government, or the humbleness of her caste, she escape the opium pill, or the sly pinch of the jugular vein designed for her to preserve the honour of the family, she grows up untended, unwashed, uneducated, and very often unclothed. In infancy she is disposed of by betrothal, and so much cash, so much grain, so many trays of sweetmeats find their way to the family-dwelling, as the price of her charms, and the barter of her affections: in her non-age she is married, but no honour awaits her even on this occasion, the bridegroom is the great object of the ceremony, but where is the bride? Hired courtezans are dancing for the gratification of the men, while the women of the family are huddled away in closets, or allowed to peep through screens. Poor hapless daughter of Eve!

Eros has no existence for her; she never listened to honeyed words; she knows nothing of the honour of being wooed, or of the glory of being won; not for her the indistinguishable throng of hopes, and fears, and gentle wishes, till the hour arrived, when in granting favours she was herself thrice blessed; she knows not the blushing honours of the bridal bed; her father arranged the transaction with the boy's father; her family barber looked at him, his family barber examined her, noting her defects and her merits; the male relations ate, and the Brahmins prayed, muttered, and ate also, and she had a ring thrust through her nostril, and *was a bride*. A few years afterwards when she had arrived at a nubile age, amidst the conventional howling of all the females of the house, she is deported with a proportion, fixed by custom, of cooking pots, clothes, and jewels to the house of the bridegroom—a beardless lad, whom then for the first time she sees, and she is thrust into another labyrinth of dark passages, murky yards, and musty closets, resembling so far the paternal mansion, amidst a crowd of mothers-in-law, stern aunts, child-mothers, and widowed girls, who represent, and make up, the hidden treasures of an Indian home.

Nor in married life is her situation much improved. Owing to the universal habit of whole families herding together, and the comfortless arrangement of dwelling houses, for years she never sees her husband except by the light of the chaste moon on the flat roof of the mansion, or by an oil lamp in a closet; he is often absent for months and years; to the end of her days she never appears unveiled in his presence before a third person, not even her children; she is never addressed by her proper name; if she prove a mother, she has at least the blessing of her children and teaches them to fear their father, but if her husband's lust of the eye fall elsewhere, she has a hateful colleague thrust in, with whom life becomes one continued jostle of persons, choking of choler, and conflict of children, and, if she be childless, she mourns her hard fate, and submits. Her sin has not been forgiven in child-bearing, and she even cherishes the child of her rival, for the want of something to love. We pass over in silence the angry words, the neglect, the cuffs and even blows, that must be the case in some households in a country where no shame attends the act of striking a woman; we pass over such outrages in silence, for in England not many years ago, a mother, in bringing a charge against her son, stated in evidence, that he *beat her as much as if she had been his wife*: in England there are savages still.

But the Indian wife has her revenge—the time comes, and *the woman*. In the declining and obese period of life, when passion is lulled, and the only object of the male animal, who has

become seedy and weedy, is to be respectable, when the wife has become haggard, wrinkled, toothless, and hideous, she can wring his heartstrings, she can expose him to the gossip of his neighbours and to the tittle of the Court. She sues him for alimony, or maintenance, or—that fertile source of vexation—dower, or for jewels, which she declares to be her separate property, she carries her wrinkled face into Court, and even lays bare her chaste bosom, rivalling a sun-dried mud bank more than the conventional snow drift, denounces her husband, discloses his weaknesses, and derides his defects. She thus revenges herself and her sex of many a slight, many a cuff, and this must go on, and he must bear it, much as he looks forward to the day when it will be his special privilege to expend a few copper coins in faggots to consume the carcass of the woman who had been his torment, unless she outlive him, when she will not be behind hand in each detail of conventional woe. Still, in spite of all these disagreeable circumstances, the Courts are pestered with ridiculous claims of brothers-in-law, or cousins, to possess themselves of the persons of widows, in whom they imagine that their family have invested capital, of which they wish to enjoy the interest: we have known many long fights with regard to the hand of very undesirable ladies betwixt the party who considers that he has a legal remainder, and the party who is in actual possession, the one pleading a species of tenure of tail female, and the other a tenure “in corde.”

- The wicked Novelist, Balzac, has somewhere written, that a man should not venture to marry, until he had at least dissected one woman: we would warn the Hindoo to witness one such civil action, ere he add to his family. As far as we personally know such ladies, (and our acquaintance is confined to the arena of the Cutcherry) they are apt to be unamiable, unguarded of speech, rather spiteful, and very unreasonable, certainly not the ministering Angel with whom you would wish to share the Arab tent; none so earnest in appeal, none so unruly and obstreperous, and the Judge is fortunate to have a table and rail between himself and the litigants, and not to have a long beard to tempt insult, for the Sikh lady is apt to run to bone in formation, and would be a powerful enemy in conflict. Nor do they persecute their husbands or their male relations only; none so pertinacious against the world and its institutions at large, as that wretched widow, who has been tempted by some devil to waste so many weary days and weary nights, for the possession of some miserable hovel, the value of which would never equal such an expenditure of temper, credit, words, or hard cash. A personal experience of some terrible widows, clasping your knees at every unguarded opportunity, shrieking at every

corner, vexing the spirit at uncertain hours, has often tempted us to sympathise somewhat more with the unjust Judge, who has been held up as an example for as to avoid.

And all this has arisen under our rule, all this trouble is authorized in the Code, and it exists in the necessity of things. It is dangerous to insult the feelings of a people, yet here we must run athwart their most deep-rooted prejudices, and the Judge, though satisfied that with a conscience and principle of rectitude he could not decide otherwise, returns daily to his home, deeply conscious that he has wounded their feelings on the tenderest point. Their whole practice with regard to betrothals is iniquitous. Women are transferred like cattle; circular contracts are made, by which a whole series of marriages is arranged, grown up women tied to boys of tender years, little girls made over to old men; brothers sue for forcible possession of the widow of their deceased brother; the woman is treated as a chattel or a domestic animal, of which the joint property is vested in the whole family. The conscience of our jurisprudence is opposed to all such transactions, and they cannot be upheld: great is the wrath and loudly muttered the dissatisfaction of many a middle aged country gentleman, who, from his age and time of mind, cannot see the drift of the policy. Moreover the evil has been aggravated by the novelty of our rule, for no sooner had the British Army crossed the Sutlej, than it got about that we were governed by a Queen, and the Company was believed to be a female of some denomination. This gave birth to a feeling of independence among the womankind of the country; hence a quarrel and a miniature rebellion in every house:—the astonished Sikh worsted at Sobraon at least honourably, had in his own home to carry on a disgraceful contest with a loud tongue, cased in a body which he no longer dared to chastise, craving for more jewels, more clothes, and threatening to avail itself of its newly acquired liberty.

This dislocation of domestic relations is brought about by polygamy, and child murder, which by destroying the numerical equality of the sexes, has given women a money value in the market, as a thing to be sold, and, when bought, to be kept possession of. Polygamy may be dismissed in a few words. None of the respectable middle classes tolerate it: in extreme cases of childless husbands the privilege may be under a protest made use of, for to a Hindu it is a dishonour and sorrow to be childless: the poor cannot afford it: it is only among the wild beasts of the pseudo-aristocracy, that the custom prevails to any extent, and they, as a class, are being extinguished. A law to place polygamy under civil disabilities might be passed without exciting a remark, for it is as unsanctioned by the feel-

ing of the people, as excesses of the same character, though developing themselves in the European form of profligacy and adultery, are against the feelings of the people of England: indeed now that the power of the whip and the fetter has been removed, the custom is not likely to be much practised. It was all very well for a Chieftain residing in a fort with four bastions to indulge in the luxury of a separate wife in each tower, or a banker with two or three dwelling-houses might find it feasible, but for a man with limited means the experiment would be dangerous, and even in ordinary single-handed contracts, tricks are often played; the barber of the bridegroom is bribed, and at a time when it is too late to recede, the bride is found to be one eyed, marked hideously with the small pox, or imperfectly developed in mind or body. A contract, based on misrepresentation and fraud, is but a sorry start in life for the young couple.

Female infanticide lies deeper, as it is based not on individual passion but family pride: it must have taken some years, or perhaps generations, to stamp the iniquity in its present complete form, to drown all feeling of humanity, shame, and manliness, and it will take some time to destroy that feeling. The subject has been misunderstood: it is not only the undue expenditure at weddings that led to the crime, as this would not have induced the wealthy in some particular tribes to adopt a practice which their neighbours equally wealthy revolted at. The facts are these. Indian Society is divided into castes, and each caste into tribes infinite; a man must marry one of his own caste, but never one of his own tribe; as long as these tribes are relatively equal, no trouble would arise, but as in process of time one tribe became conventionally more honourable than the other, and as it is a point of honour never to give a daughter to one of a lower tribe, there must be certain tribes, who may have equals, but can have no superior, and, if there should be no equal, as in the case of the Bedee tribe of the Khutree caste, there is no alternative but dishonour or female infanticide, and of course they chose the latter. Let us illustrate this position further. Suppose that the great caste of Smiths had from times beyond the memory of man being divided into tribes, the William Smiths, the John Smiths, and Andrew Smiths, and so on. Now by the necessity of the case a Smith must marry a Smith, but not one of his own cognates; and all would go well, until the disturbing cause of relative rank happened to interfere. Unluckily one of the ancestors of the Andrew Smiths was said to have been an East India Director, Lord Mayor of London, or a popular low church preacher, or a personage of some such distinction as would lead his descendants, who were apparently equal, to consider them-

selves relatively better than the William Smiths: the sad consequences of this absurd distinction would be that the Andrew Smiths as a tribe, sooner than give their daughters to the William Smiths or the other inferior tribes, habitually practice female infanticide. 'Hinc illæ lacrymæ.'

But ever and anon, amidst this wilderness of the affections flashes out on the part of that sex who can forgive their tyrants every fault, even infidelity, with a bright light some instance of the tenderest, because unrequited love. The voice of the country, and tradition of the Golden Age, are against such treatment of the weaker vessel, and generation after generation have sympathised with the pictures of truth and fidelity, which have been portrayed so vividly and with such sweetness by Valmiki and Vyasa, the great heroes of epic poetry, and gathered round many a fireside have young and old alternately wept and smiled at the tale of the sorrows and triumphs of Sita and Damayanti. Still in spite of their social degradation, lives the proverb, that though a hundred men form only an encampment, one woman constitutes a home: still inconsistently the dearest affections and nicest honour of the great people of India are interwoven in the veil which shrouds their females. They plunder provinces to load them with jewels, and then complain when restitution is demanded: they worship their mothers and elder relations, treat their wives as so much dirt, and ignore their daughters, yet will those wives travel long distances to visit them in prison, and sacrifice all to get them released, and scenes often occur which reconcile us to the oriental development of humanity. The neglect on the part of the selfish Lord, often displays itself in as ludicrous a manner as the devotion of the wife. It is the custom for Hindus on the loss of a relation to shave their beards by way of mourning, and we once asked a Rajpoot, who had lately lost his better half, why he had neglected this attention. The reply was, that he would as soon think of shaving his beard for the loss of a pair of old shoes. On the other hand we once overtook a lone female on our road towards the Ganges, and she informed us that she was journeying many a league to commit the remains of her Lord to the sacred stream. We looked back expecting to see some modest conveyance, on which these melancholy reliques were deposited, but there was nothing: on inquiry she undid a knot in the corner of the sheet in which she was clothed, and showed us a tooth and a bit of calcined bone, which she had picked up from the cinders of the funeral pile, and which she considered to be a *sufficient* representative of her husband.

The third great class of cases relates to land. Ordinarily such cases are much involved, and in Lower Bengal their decision is



surrounded with almost insurmountable difficulties. But a wise policy has in the Punjaub set all these matters at rest, and from the confusion which prevailed, order and certainty have been extracted. Many and conflicting were the rights to the possession of the fruits of the soil, and to the soil itself: all have now been reduced to three great heads, the rights of the cultivator, the rights of the owner in fee simple, and the rights of the assignee of the Government share of the produce. The amount of the share demanded by Government having been limited, property at once acquired a new value, and special officers have been deputed during the last nine years to carry out the details of this great work, but, though the machinery is different, the code of law is the same, and the right to enjoy, and the power to alienate, are guaranteed and defined.

The leading features of the Code are liberal and practical, opposed to useless form, and trusting rather to a strong and honest executive, than to judicial check. The fiscal and executive officers of the Government are free from the molestation of civil actions, but let them abuse the power confided to them, and the strong hand, which set them on the curule chair, will be raised against them and destroy them. It is an absurdity that the business, which is done by one department, should be reviewed and reconsidered by another; it sounds constitutional, but it is merely vexation of spirit: a sharp, and strict, appellate Court prevents all abuse; a simple people are mystified by the conflict of departments, and wisely therefore in the Punjaub all functions are united. India has not yet got beyond the patriarchal period. We are of opinion, that even the older provinces would gain by a return to the simpler types of Asiatic rule.

Every kind of evidence is received "*quantum valeat*," and the Court judges of the value; parties may be witnesses in their own cases, and the Court may itself seek for evidence from whatever source it like; it will not accept at second-hand, what can be obtained more directly. The rigour of the old written law is tempered by the equity of the "*lex loci*" and "*lex personæ*," the interpretation of which is now neither left to venal Arbitrators, to Pundits, or to ill-instructed Judges, but is embodied in leading principles, which are open to revision from time to time; and by degrees it is hoped, that this unwritten law may be codified, and a more precise line drawn betwixt the mutual confines of conflicting customs.

It would be rash in a word to condemn the ancient Civil Code of the Hindoos, and the more modern and wider spread Code of the Mahomedans. They represent the wisdom and experience of many generations, and were drawn from the same fount as the Levitical Code and the Roman civil law, but are tinctured by

the age, and the clime, in which they were committed to writing: in some things they are in advance of even English legislation. We are but advancing by slow steps to the promulgation of the doctrine, admitted hundreds of years ago by the Hindus, that the wife's savings are her own: a natural settlement protects every woman. We are the savages and barbarians in this matter, on the other hand the Hindoo law is loaded with an intolerable weight of disqualifications, of which we have now purged it, and the Courts are freed from the absurdity of making a man take an oath which is not binding on his conscience, and the iniquity of depriving a man of privileges, because he happens not to be of the dominant persuasion.

Under the Punjaub Government exist the time-honoured domestic institutions of polygamy and polyandry, though on the latter the Code is silent. Each is based on a similar iniquity, and is derived from the old patriarchal habits of licensed concubinage. There exists also that right of Divine, which the opponents of this measure dignify with the name of Successive, as opposed to Contemporary, polygamy. Of the laws of inheritance there exists every variety—every vagary of poor human Nature, except the unnatural preference of one child among many, which European Nations call "Primogeniture;" that law, denounced by English jurists as the most unnatural that Legislation ever saw, but to which custom has hardened us, is in India confined to the succession to thrones, and as such unknown to this Code. But here we find legalized the Mosaic law by which a man may marry the widow of his brother, and this liberty is outwardly symbolised by the casting of a sheet, as Boaz did three thousand years ago over Ruth. Obedience to parents is inculcated, but as a moral obligation only, and though a child of tender years will be restored to the possession of the parent, at the age of eighteen entire liberty is conceded, and if the child, although a legal minor, be of a mature and competent understanding, and a free moral agent, with the single exception of married girls, the power is conceded of making an election with regard to place of abode, mode of life, or religious persuasion. Such is the law, and, though no case has as yet occurred, such would be the practice. Liberty of conscience can go no further. On the other hand the duty of mutual support between parents and children, and elder and younger relatives, is absolute.

The right, which orientals claim of killing their infant children, deserting them, selling them, and all the harsh features of the "jus paternum," is distinctly negatived. Where the code is weak, is in the matter of marriage: the religious sanction has been rudely torn away from the tie, and it is in effect reduced to

the status of an ordinary contract, without the formality of registration, which in civilized countries has been always introduced at this stage: this, coupled with the unlimited power of divorce, the admitted license of concubinage, and the absence of any reproach attached to general profligacy, has led to a great increase of immorality. Marriage in the eye of the law has thus sunk down to a voluntary and temporary cohabitation, and the advantages of legitimacy over illegitimacy are scarcely appreciable. One of the greatest nobles of the Punjab, and a member of the late Regency, is the issue of a Jat-father by a cast-off Rajpoot wife of Muharaja Runjeet Singh, and yet he succeeded to his inheritance: adultery is indeed punished criminally, not from any abhorrence of the crime, but to anticipate the vengeful sword of the injured husband, and civil damages are also granted, and a neat distinction drawn betwixt breaches of contracts of marriage before, or after, the solemnization of actual marriage. The root of the evil is in the practice of marrying children without their consent, and as long as this exists, the evils described must follow in its train. What is really required is the establishment of a Court of Conciliation, that, when anybody complains that a breach of contract, or of the marriage vow, is about to take place, the offenders may be summoned and warned of the consequences, or, should the complaint be a ridiculous one, the law be explained.

Sad is the position of orphan minors in a rude state of civilization, with rights undefined and possession *every* point of the law. Old Homer must have been an orphan himself to have been able to tell so well the sad passes to which the orphan even of a rich man may be reduced, with none to fight his battles, but the widowed mother, who generally in such cases is fired with an unconquerable spirit. Over minors the Code has flung its protection most completely, but, as if to shew more completely how entirely matrimony is ignored, the well known maxim of European law is reversed, and the Code adopts a strange but justifiable course of making over an illegitimate child to the parent most able, or most willing, to bring it up properly: a most difficult subject indeed it is in practice how to deal with these little Ishmaels, who certainly ought never to have existed, yet they are found in most respectable families, have a status in Native Courts, and, as stated above, inherit. We have known instances of the child of a Mahomedan mother taking up his position as a Hindu.

Another result of early marriages is, that the sons grow up to their prime, and their sons again, while the father is still in his manhood; children by different wives, long since deceased, press on their parents for subsistence, who on the other hand has just married a young wife, and is entirely under her influence, and perhaps concocting schemes by which the portion of his elder

children may be reduced, for he cannot disinherit them. Then is the time for bringing forward obsolete family customs, so as to enable the father to divide "per stirpes," instead of "per capita," that is to say to distribute his fortune in shares according to the number of his wives, and not of his children; oftentimes the father is induced for the sake of peace to make a distribution of his property before death, and this under certain limitations is recognized by the Code.

The law of adoption has in India a peculiar weight owing to the earnest longings on the part of a Hindu for a son to carry on his name, and to perform certain religious ceremonies. In this Code of course the law is recognized as regards all chattels and allodial property, but not as regards assignments of the State Revenue, or Pensions. It is painful to see how entirely this subject is misunderstood by the loud declaimers against certain orders of the Government. In Europe all successions in sovereign families are governed by peculiar laws, while the ordinary law of inheritance among the community remains untouched. In Germany, and France, daughters are excluded: in England contrary to the common law the eldest daughter inherits: so in India the eldest son succeeds to sovereignties, and among Mahomedans the kingdom goes to the one most capable of rule: following this analogy, it has been wisely ruled that the succession to assignments of revenue, such as Jagheerdars, Inamdars, should be ruled by its own peculiar laws, and adoption excluded: so in England when pensions are granted for one or two lives, they are limited to lineal heirs, and in the rare instances where the liberality of former Parliaments has granted permanent assignments on the revenues to distinguished servants, adoption is never dreamt of.

The way in which Natives of India live huddled together in one enclosure, sometimes sharing their food, sometimes separate, passes all description: no distinct accounts are kept of their domestic or their business expenditure; jealous of any inquiry into their means, they throw a mist over every transaction, and when a complication arrives, when a young widow and child are left to take their chance against the other grey-headed sons, who have long been in possession, then comes the struggle as to what is joint property, how much belonged to the elder sons, as their personal profits: sometimes a virgin widow, who by the Code inherits all the property of her lord, is made use of as a weapon of offence by her own needy relations, to torment a wealthy relative. Generally speaking there is no innate sense of right in any one: litigants can rarely be brought to one common standard, their pleas will be inconsistent with each other, each party

will demand more than they have a right to, and support the same by appeals to God, to men, and the market place.

The Code is free from that blemish which pervades the practice of all the other Courts in India, and which from time to time is evidenced by Acts of the Legislature. No person, or class of persons, is exempted from the law or the processes of the Court. It would be hoped that Macaulay, in his preface to the draft of the Criminal Code, had exposed this crying sin of the Indian Legislation: are the Court's evils in themselves, that the rich should be exempted? Is it any honourable distinction to be above the laws of the country, or an out-law? and yet in all the towns of the North West Provinces existed families, who vaunted of being able to incur debts without running the risk of being compelled to pay them. It is worthy of remark, how much the old class of public servants took up the cause of the Indian Aristocracy, when their sympathies would naturally have been with the middle classes: but the fact is, that the Rajas and Chiefs could lend elephants, give shooting parties, and be generally useful, while the annals of the poor in India, as elsewhere, are generally very dull, and their persons very dirty.

With regard to contracts, owing to the lax way in which business is conducted, the Code has been obliged to abandon all form, and writing is not even required: the Judge is required to look to the spirit of the contract, and the absence of consideration is not a defect. The Code has shirked the subject of benamiee, or fictitious holdings, which vex the souls of all honest men both in the North West Provinces and Bengal, and yet are so akin to estates in trust in England, that the favour of the Legislature is on their side. On the much disputed subject of Pre-emption the Code is quite distinct, and has the merit of being the first to develop this doctrine, the creation of Indian jurists, to its full and logical conclusion. It is very true, that all such restrictions on the free transfer of property are utterly opposed to political economy, but they are approved by public feeling, and have a strange political significance now, when we contemplate the state of the land tenures of the North West Provinces. A man who wishes to sell, or mortgage his share of a hereditary coparcenary landed estate, must make the first offer to his partners, and can only call in strangers on their refusal, and to prevent collusion with strangers by fixing a fictitious and exorbitant price, the value of the share is to be ascertained by a Jury. It is moreover extended to cases of sale of houses in cities.

On the other hand the Code is quite silent on an equally important subject: the Roman civil law lays down, that a man's

right in his own property is limited by all the rights possessed by other persons, and what the law of pre-emption does for the neighbours, when a man quits his property, the law of Servitudes, or Easances, does, while a man occupies it. Houses in Indian cities are clustered together, as they were at Rome: by the action of the law of inheritance they become divided, and sub-divided, the upper story falling to one share, and the ground floor to another: hence arises a complication of rights of light, of access, of water-spouts, of gutters, and other details innumerable, and excellent grounds of quarrel they make, and well they are fought out; the same thing happens with regard to the shares of landed property, when the rights of water course, of pathway, of driving cattle, are fertile sources of dispute: every description of property is liable to its urban, and suburban, servitudes.

On the law of mortgage also the Code appears to be very defective: it seems at first glance but fair, that no lapse of time should be a bar to the recovery of a property lent, deposited, pawned, or mortgaged; but on the other hand it is in the interest of the community, that there should be some bounds to litigation; and when it is considered how terribly vague and lax the people are in their proceedings, how narrow the bounds betwixt pledge and mortgage, mortgage and sale, what confusion prevails on the fact of possession or non-possession, what difficulty there is to prove the deed, and to decide whether it was a condition that the assessment should clear the interest only, or go towards extinguishing the capital, whether the mortgage was a simple or a conditional one, we arrive at this conclusion, that lapse of time and publicity are elements in such transactions, and that periodical settlements publicly registered should be required, or the right allowed to die, for nothing is thought of mortgaging a miserable tenement for its full value, leaving the mortgagees for generations in possession with right to repair and rebuild, and the time of the Court is possibly wasted on the suit of some distant descendant to recover.

In the law with regard to Agency, Bailment, and Partnership, the object is to protect the public, and "Notice" is the hinge on which the whole practice turns: everybody is to suffer for his own negligence, or fraud: if the partners give out one thing, and really are another, they suffer: limited liability is allowed, if notice be given, if in spite of notice the public choose to think otherwise, the public suffers. So in Bailment, greater or less care depends on the advantage gained by either party, and the duties of the agent to his principal and the public, and the responsibilities of the principal, are defined. The rules with regard to insolvency and disruption of partnership, are good; the only difficulty arises from the absence of any public medium of

notifying the fact, furnished in European countries by the Gazette. A great drawback to all settling of accounts is the careless way in which the books are kept, the good humoured confidence in the whole world's honesty, and in *your own*, which is evidenced: procrastination is the order of the day, but, when a dispute arises, the most violent passions burst out, and the undue confidence is at once converted into unjustifiable suspicion, and leads to most reckless charges. Men, who yesterday believed every thing, will to-day believe nothing; such cases are most difficult to dispose of, but the Courts are armed with power to check all fraud, and any kind of collusion.

The existence of a correspondence of bankers over the whole Peninsula, in the form of Hoondies, is one of the greatest proofs and greatest triumphs of the ancient civilization of the country, and it is a marvel to contemplate how well the system works, and how seldom bad faith is complained of. At first sight nothing is so easy as to effect a forgery, but in practice nothing is so difficult, for security is demanded before payment, and that is the keystone of the system. The responsibility of the drawer is maintained beyond what seems just in European acceptance, and he is bound to ascertain the fate of the bill which he has drawn, and get the receipt of payment. This chapter of the Code is especially interesting, as it is the result of oral conference with the merchants of Anritsur, a city which rose to be the greatest mart in Northern India in spite of Sikh rapine and misrule. Although the firms of this city have correspondents in Europe, yet they are still so far Asiatic, that they always keep a certain amount of specie buried in their houses to meet emergencies, as it would be the ruin of their credit to have to go out to borrow, and there is no great National Bank, in which they can lodge their reserve.

In favour of the heirs of deceased the severity of the patriarchal system is modified, and the liability of children for the debts of their ancestors is limited to the amount of assets received. In the matter of interest, which is positively prohibited by Mahomedan law, and which has to a late period been restrained by usury laws of European creation, the Code has followed the prevailing sentiments of the age, that a trade in money should be as much unshackled by any legislative interference as the trade in any other commodity; but the courts will not allow excessive interest, for under the old system the money lender used to credit every payment to interest, and year by year brought out the same, or an increasing, balance, while the unfortunate debtor, like the daughters of Danaus, found himself continually filling with water a bottomless vessel. The law of libel is based upon the most novel and liberal legislation of Eu-

rope, but in a country where the tongue is quite unbridled, where men have no more sense of honour, and are as little restrained in what they say as women, the law is inoperative: the most scandalous and unfounded assertions are listened to, and apparently not resented. Side by side with such provisions as these, savouring of the most advanced stage of society, and next in order in the Code to the law of Insurance, and the law of Copyright, by which the efforts of the brain, and the results of learning are condensed into a possession and formed into a property, we come to two rights, the most ancient in the Asiatic system, and which flourished, and in some cases perished, before the existence of European society. In the dawn of civilization the priest was the lawgiver, and it is not likely that he would forget to provide for his own class, and the fees and offerings, now sanctioned by the Code are of the same family as those which were instituted by Moses in the deserts of Arabia. No sooner had mankind ceased to be migratory, and begun to dwell in cities, than some fervent or ill regulated spirits were urged by some hidden fire to abandon the haunts of man, the honest modes of living, and the domestic law of nature: thus was founded the Hermitage, which eventually expanded into the Monastic Institution; the relation of disciple to spiritual teacher, the spurious imitation of the natural relation of son to father, prevails extensively in both the indigenous religions of India, and that relation can be traced back to the time when Elijah left his cloak to Elisha. Nor has the Code forgotten to include primeval caste, and, though excommunication for ceremonial defilement could not be legally recognized, the existence of the institution is recognized by securing a remedy to the party injured against the party who has injured him.

The Rulers of the Punjaub, by departing from the cold and philosophic convenience of absolute neutrality, have here involved themselves in obvious inconsistencies. By a late Circular we find the Missionaries authorized to encourage their converts to qualify themselves for small posts in Government employ, as if sincere men would be tempted by the badge of a messenger, and forgetting that in the real days of conversion the early Christians looked forward to no prospect of provision in the Court of the Prætor. At this part of the Code we find the judicial officers taking sweet council with a band of half naked, or fantastically clad Byragees, as to the appointment of a spiritual leader, discussing with grave earnestness, whether the deceased idolater had a right to marry, or not, and whether the precious blessing of the burnt Georoo had fallen on this hypocrite, or that. Such are the grave inconsistencies into



which all must fall, who swerve from the great principle of absolute neutrality of the Civil Government from *all* Religions.\*

Why should not the religious affairs of the heathen be treated by our Courts in the same cold contempt, that the Romans adopted towards the disputes of the early Christians? They are but questions of names, and of their law, and the servants of a Christian Government should not be judges of such matters: let us drive them from the judgment seat, and Gallo-like take no care for such things. Who settles the affairs of the Jewish synagogues or Jewish institutions in Europe, or of the numberless Christian communities in Turkey, for the latter in civil matters would never have recourse to a Mahomedan tribunal, and indeed Christians are specially forbidden to do so. The laws should not recognize the corporate existence of institutions which it did not itself create: pleas should not be permitted which are contrary to the conscience of the judge and the judicature. The existing Municipal law, as regards marriage, inheritance, and civil rights, is unobjectionable, but our line should be drawn there. Temples, Shrines, and Conventual Establishments should be considered in the light of buildings of an ordinary nature. None of the Governments preceding us recognized the existence of hostile religions, but they left such matters to be settled by the people themselves; but such is the liberality of modern times, that the erection of a Mosque or a temple, used a few years back to be chronicled as a work of public utility, and public officers were found gradually to Hindooize, for while one officer subscribed in a public-spirited way to the erection of a temple of Siva near his own office, another was not deterred from recommending to a Christian Government to endow another temple with a grant of land in perpetuity.

We are deliberately opposed to the aggressive policy of that great party, which strives to bring the children of the Heathen under their influence in the guise of education,\* but we are at the same time the staunch advocates of the entire dissociation of our executive, or Judicial, Courts from ought that is connected with the religion of the Heathen. It is admitted that there exists a conscience in our laws, and that they refuse to notice certain contracts as contrary to public policy and morals, yet not only have we endowed communities of Sannyasees, Oudasees, Yogeas, Nanukputees, Byragees, Nirmulas, Nagas, and other euphonious bodies of very disgusting individuals with large grants of lands, but their status is recognized; the inheritance of the spiritual teacher is conveyed to the disciple, and the strong arm of the Courts is found supporting them. The Code recog-

\* Our contributors are alone responsible for their opinions.—Ed. C. R.

nizes also the office of the Purohit or family Priest, and the Guardian of the Mosque, or Shrine of a Mahomedan Saint. These gentry are always talking of feeding the poor, as did the monks of the mediæval period, but in fact they are lazy drones, and, if report is true, lead loose lives. Some marry, some practice celibacy; if wealthy they are quarrelsome, proud, and grasping. We found the Punjaub eaten up with the devotees of the Sikh persuasion; and we have secured their ample Revenues. No doubt, when the Sikh power rose, all the ruined Mosques and Tombs of the Mahomedans were flourishing and richly endowed: the Sikhs were wise enough in their generation to sweep them all away, and when the long steps of Benares and the gorgeous tank of Amritsur are falling to ruin, when people no longer visit shrines on account of the bad repute of the manager, when the priesthood lose their hold on their people, there will be the dawn of a new religion; but not while, as is provided by the Code, a man entering a religious order forfeits his property, while Christian Judges are called upon to decide upon points of ceremonial of entering Hindoo Monastic institutions, and while the corporate existence of those bodies is recognized.

It must not be supposed that the practice of the courts in which this code is enforced, has approached in any degree to perfection: they are confessedly rough institutions, have as yet scarcely taken root, are lax, irregular, and just what may be expected of the conglomerate of which the judicial body has been formed—young civilians, gallant Captains of Infantry, country-born and half caste Britons, Persians, Armenians, Sikhs, Mahomedans, Cashmeerees, Bengalee Baboos, Punjabees, Hindustanees, a motley crew, who, according to the exigencies of the local Government, are always changing. Still progress is being made, and progress makes perfect.

Rapid are the decisions—sometimes too rapid, but the good easy man, who has got his decree, must not suppose that he has got to the end of his journey: wilds immeasurable spread, and mountains upon mountains appear to start up: the bane of the Punjaub system is the license of appeal, which is unlimited, and the extraordinary fact, that many of the Appellate Courts are in the hills far removed from the cities and villages where dwell the unhappy litigants. However, spurred by pique, and a spirit of rivalry and a passion for the fight, the defeated litigant hopes to catch his antagonist in a net of appeals, remands, and modifications: he knows that by a voyage to the cold regions at certain seasons he runs a chance of fever, ague, or cholera, but the spirit of litigation is like a taste for gambling, and, when it has once seized its victim, it does not leave him until exhausted and ruined. Should however the decree-holder turn the corner

of appeal, a new arena is entered, for the defeated party tries by claims and counter-claims to defeat the execution: cases of objection spring up hydra-headed, and nothing but a keen sense of the spirit of the game, like a fox hunter, would carry him through the toil, the weary delay, the daily disappointment; and sometimes when he has his enemy fairly in his power, and is preparing to devour him, the vermin dodges, and wrings from a soft-hearted Judge an order to pay by instalments.

The contemplation of a machine formed for the express purpose of ruling men, controlling their bad passions, and defining their rights, such a machine as a civil code, is always interesting, more especially among such a people as the people of India. It is dangerous to legislate beyond the requirements or against the public feeling of a people, for, if you do so, your laws will either be oppressive or a nullity. And it is a striking reflection, that so many can live together, and yet differ so widely. In your village wanderings you are conducted to their boundaries by the head-men and notables, with whom you have been discoursing, and you are welcomed by another set who use different phrases of salutation, call ordinary things by different names, believe different dogmas, name their children on a different principle, have different notions of right and wrong, and invoke different Deities: but all are equally devoid of the Spirit, and utterly without God in the world.

Some burn their dead, others bury; the Hindoo will go out of his way to burn a dead Hindu stranger, the great horror of a Mahomedan is to be burnt. The Hindoo would not marry a member of the same tribe as himself, considering it incest: the Mahomedans habitually marry first cousins; their law of inheritance proceeds on entirely different principles, yet there is no sting, no recrimination, but friendly intercourse, and a courteous avoidance of certain subjects, and neither can cry back to the abstract rights of man, for both religions appeal to a Code, one made many thousand years ago for another state of society, the other made thousands of miles off for a very different kind of people.

Still in the Punjaub in outward matters the process of assimilation was going on. The Hindus might be taunted as being half-Mahomedans, as the Affghans taunt the Mahomedans with being half-Hindus; their dress, and trimming of the beard are so similar, that all distinction of outward appearance has perished. The Hindus entrusted all their children to Mahomedan teachers, and their infants habitually to Mahomedan wet-nurses, which, considering their extreme particularity about cooking and eating among adults, is a singular phenomenon of the Mahomedan character, and forms of writing had been adopted, and phrases used

in correspondence, which sound ridiculous from a party who did not believe in Mahomet. The offspring of Mahomedan concubines were sometimes Hindooized by their parents, and some of the Punjaub nobles are so situated. In fact the grand idea of the founder of the Sikh religion was being gradually worked out, a progress was being made towards the destruction of caste certainly, and the probable blending of religions, when the passage of the Christians across the Sutlej rolled the tide back. We have given a new life to Hindooism in its most ultra development: the Sikhs are gradually falling back into orthodox Hindooism, and all the irregularities, sanctioned by Royal lust, or the license of powerful Chiefs, and the general independence of Sectarians, are now checked. It has been our unhappy privilege to give a new lease to customs which were wearing out, and by the presence of our army of pure Hindoos, and our numerous followers, to recrystallize into a compact form the fabric of ceremonial rites, and spiritual dogmas, which had been gradually melting away.

For the Punjaub and its dependencies, the Code, which we have now reviewed, is a great fact, pregnant of promise, enlightenment, and order. Whoever wrote the Code, be he old or young, deserves the thanks of the Government and the people, for already fifteen millions of men submit to it, and it combines a wise tenderness for the common law of the people with a resolute opposition to antiquated, unjust, and time-dishonoured prejudices. When the Governor General in Council declined to give this Code the sanction of law, there were fortunately found men in the Punjaub ready to give it a trial, and the names of Sir John Lawrence and Mr. Montgomery must be inseparably connected with it, for we know from the bitter experience of the Criminal Code drawn up by Mr. Macaulay, that the best of Codes are useless, if there is a deficiency of nerve and force of character in the rulers, to take the responsibility of promulgating them. In the Punjaub a Justinian and Napoleon were not found wanting. Since then we understand that the Code has been introduced into the Kingdom of Oudh.

This is a warning to the Rulers of those great provinces that lie on either side of the stream of the Northern Ganges, who still, in spite of experience and failure, cling to the yoke of the Regulations. A year has elapsed since they were urged and implored to cut boldly and be free:—to this they were unequal, and they still plunge on in the Slough of Despond. Many an action of our European officers, many a proceeding of our Civil Courts, have in times past come under our observation, which were calculated to rouse a people, who had any spark of spirit, into righteous indignation: but they bore it in silence; their

cup was not full, and they bided their time, till at length a Mutiny of our Prætorians gave room for an expression of the feelings of the mass, which had been pent up too long. It was then that the deep-rooted national dissatisfaction of half a century, the sullen rancour of a crushed Aristocracy, mindful of the state of their ancestors but conscious of their own degeneracy,—the furious hate of despoiled priesthoods—the imprescriptible rights of dethroned and dishonoured dynasties,—the honourable importunities of wounded self-respect and hopeless ambition—the plaintive lamentations of ousted landlords and the ceaseless recriminations of ruined families—the scoundrelism of large cities and the scum of military bazaars—all these collected in one black cloud, and overshadowed the North West Provinces. On us, and our children, fell the accumulated vengeance for the misdeeds of our forefathers: the people hated us with a hate exceeding the hate which they bore to each other, they abominated our religion as evidenced by our outward customs, and they writhed under our pride.

But it is past. Every nerve has been strained, and every pulse agitated: the storm is blown over, and left us materially more powerful than before:—the strong man is himself again, and cries Ha Ha!, for he has seen the struggle, tried his strength, and knows that his countrymen, if true to themselves, can still conquer and rule millions. But, in the hour of victory let us think of justice, and if we wish to govern the country, *we must learn much and forget much*, and bear in mind that no slavery is so wretched, as that where the law is capricious and uncertain.

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ART. II.—1. *Correspondence relating to the Establishment of an Oriental College, London. Reprinted from the "Times" with Notes.* London: Williams and Norgate. 1858.

2. *Statement on the formation of a Christian Vernacular Education Society for India.* 1858.

THE Court of Directors, with all its defects—a bulwark against hasty measures, has been abolished after a long and not inglorious career, and the Crown is now supreme in India, but the Court may leave as a legacy to their successors those memorable words of Macaulay delivered in the House of Commons. "I believe 'most firmly, and I believe that no person who is acquainted with 'India will dispute what I am about to say, that at least there 'are ten gentlemen in this Court (of Directors) the least informed of whom is better acquainted with and is better informed on 'India, than the whole of the Treasury Bench opposite. That 'this House can be any *efficient* check on the royal prerogative 'in India, I altogether deny, what we want is a body *independent* 'of the Crown and no more than independent, which shall be neither the tool of the Ministry nor the tool of the opposition."

The danger of India therefore is this—that after a few years with an apathetic House of Commons, important Indian questions may be decided really by Anglo-Indian and London Journalists, ignorant of the *real condition of the Indian people*, or they may be carried by popular agitators who get up a cry for party or personal purposes. We should remember the history of the first French revolution when it was very easy to pull down, but to build up was never done, when Editors and theorists like the Abbé Siéyès made paper constitutions ad libitum. Some both in India and England, forgetful of the maxim "the more haste the worse speed"—that long rooted associations are not easily eradicated, that whatever is to be permanent must be the growth of time, would have India managed at the mere dictum of a Secretary of State in England.

It is therefore is a question of supreme importance now—how is India to be *permanently* pacified, and its people led to co-operate with England in the great work of civilising and Christianising the Hindu race. How are Englishmen to fulfil their high mission in Southern Asia, ever bearing in mind the words of Sir C. Wood manfully stated before the House of Commons "the desire to throw off a foreign yoke is implanted in 'the human breast." The problem is, as Lord John Russell put it, "how to reconcile our duties as Christians in India with 'the most entire religious liberty, and a *benevolent* rule with the

‘firm assertion of power.’ How is the Oriental to live in concord with the Anglo-Saxon, how are the minds of Indians and Englishmen, though playing on different keys, to be brought into harmony?

How are we to conquer the *mind* of India? As a partial solution of this question we intend to advocate in this article two projects recently proposed in England for India, viz. a *Christian Vernacular Education Society*, which would bring the masses of India nearer to the English by giving them Christian and English knowledge through the Indian languages—and an *Oriental College*, which would bring the European mind nearer to the Oriental, enabling the European to do the Oriental good, and to influence him in a way agreeable to Eastern taste. As an exposition of these views we quote an extract from an admirable article in the *Journal des Débats*, which with French acuteness gives a common sense view of this subject:—

“Orientalism, represented by Mahomedans, detests Christians, and particularly Europeans. The struggle between the East and the West is not approaching its term; and although in this ancient war the greatest victories, and apparently the most decided ones, have been achieved by Europe, the East, which sometimes appears vanquished and subjected, ever recommences the struggle, and casts off the yoke of the West, at the moment when it seems to have accepted it with slavish submission. Europe, therefore, never can hope to overcome its enemy. *In the East, Orientalism is invincible. Europeans in America exterminated the native race; in the East this could not be done.* The old world will not allow itself to be exterminated, even if we wished to have recourse to that fearful system. What is to be done? Are we for ever to have war, and never to meet with peace and conciliation? This would be an odious prospect. Happily Orientalism, which cannot be destroyed, is not alone represented in the East by the Koran and its followers; there also exists a *Christian Orientalism*, and the genius of Christianity represents peace and conciliation between the East and the West. Eastern Christians are the necessary agents between Europe and Asia. They do not entertain the Mussulman's fanatical hatred of the West, for they have not the European's disdain for the East; they are connected with the *Western world by faith and ideas, and with the Eastern world by habits and customs.* We must encourage the development of these mediating races, instead of obstructing them. Europe must be persuaded that *Christian Orientalism can alone solve the Eastern question.*”

But a preliminary objection is raised to this, that if English be made the *universal* language of India there is no need of communicating knowledge through the vernaculars or of requiring Europeans to qualify in the Oriental languages. The *beau idéal* of a universal language as of a universal law for India or even for the world is, we freely admit, a beautiful theory. We hold in this with old Bishop Wilkins as to the value not only of a universal character but of a universal language—but *experientia docet*, and we have seen in North India

the thorough failure of the plan for Romanising *i. e.* writing in English letters all native words, though good in theory. We have seen enough of the natives to feel that theories for them may be as water on a lotus leaf; it falls but enters not. It is the same in Europe; just cross the channel from Dover to Calais, 21 miles—ask how many Frenchmen prefer English law to the Code Napoleon, English manners and the English language to the French, and then talk of uniformity of law and language for a country like India, having as many distinct peoples and languages as Europe.

We therefore come to the same conclusion as Dr. Donaldson did when, after examining the claims of the Latin to be a universal language, he draws this inference. "It seems now to be determined that neither Cæsar nor Napoleon was destined to reverse the decrees of providence, that man, though the one reasoning and speaking creature, should in different parts of the world express his thoughts in different languages." Independently of the impracticability, from expense and the *vis inertia* of the masses, of making English the universal language in India, there is one insuperable obstacle. The English language is not a suitable medium for conveying oriental thoughts, it is too cold, too frigid a language for the glowing East. How could that immense armoury of oriental proverbs so suited to paint native ideas be embodied in English with their innumerable associations from localities and family history, and how could all these references to history and climate be embodied? While some hold the view that English writings alone are the standard of correct taste, there is one book designed for universal use which has not one particle of Anglo-Saxonism in it—the Bible. On the contrary, its truths are invariably clad in the glowing and brilliant imagery of the East, and hence the "children of the sun" are far better judges of its style than the sons of "foggy England." How very few in England can enter into the spirit of Solomon's Song and its exquisite mystic allegories, yet for ages in Hindustan and on the plains of Persia a similar mode of illustrating spiritual truth has been followed.

One of the greatest dangers therefore for the future of India is, that we may have a large class of Europeans coming out to it who, from contempt for the native languages and through the love of ease, will not come into direct contact with the people, but leave everything to the *interpreter*. Some hold the theory that the European can gain influence over the natives in rural districts without studying the native languages, by communicating with the people through "the painted glass of interpreters." The opinion of Sir C. Trevelyan on this subject admirably expresses the views of all men of experience in India:—

"I know from my Indian experience that a knowledge of the native languages is an indispensable preliminary to understanding and taking an in-



terest in native races, as well as to acquiring their good-will and gaining influence over them. Without it officers charged with important public affairs, feeling themselves at the mercy of a class of interpreters whose moral character is of a very questionable kind, live in a state of chronic irritation with the natives, which is extremely adverse both to the satisfactory transaction of business, and to the still more important object of giving to the people of the country a just impression of the character and intentions of our nation."

"It should not be left, as it is at present, to the discretion of a young man, whether he will pass in the native languages or not. The power of understanding his men, and of rendering himself intelligible, should be considered an indispensable qualification, and those who cannot or will not acquire this necessary accomplishment should be removed from the service. The office of regimental interpreter and the practice of interpreting at courts-martial, should be abolished. Every officer should be presumed to understand the language of his soldiers."

Sir G. Grey, when he was appointed Governor of New Zealand, made the following remarks soon after his arrival there.

"I soon perceived that I could neither successfully govern nor hope to conciliate a numerous and turbulent people with whose language, manners, customs, religion and mode of thought, I was quite unacquainted." He resorted to an interpreter, but remarks "I found that any tale of sorrow or suffering passing through the medium of an interpreter fell much more coldly on my ear than it would have done had the person interested addressed the tale direct to myself, and in like manner an answer delivered through the intervention of a third person appeared to leave a very different impression upon the suitor from what it would have had coming direct from the lips of the Governor of the country. Moreover this mode of communication through a third person was cumbrous and slow, that in order to compensate for the loss of time thus occasioned it became necessary for the interpreters to *compress the substance* of representations made to me, also of my replies, into the fewest words possible: and as this had in each instance to be done hurriedly and at the moment, there was reason to fear that much that was material to enable me fully to understand the question before me, or the suitor to comprehend my reply, might be unintentionally omitted. Lastly, I had on several occasions reason to believe that a native hesitated to state facts or to express feelings and wishes to an interpreter, which he would most gladly have done to the Governor, could he have addressed him direct."

Late events have led several to hold the view that we ought to discountenance the vernaculars, because the mutineers opposed those who knew English, as they rooted up English trees at Lucknow. But would a man from that circumstance be wise in forcing the oak in India (which can never be naturalised on the plains,) or in forcing a beefsteak down a Brahman's throat? A Madras writer in reply to this argument says, "as

'well may the Government urge the eating of beef and the wearing of hats, because all beef-eaters and topiwallahs were singled out for vengeance by the infuriated sepoys." We thought that such a proceeding would have been a strong argument in favor of giving English *knowledge* through the vernaculars, which would serve as a medium, as certain syrups are used to induce children to swallow nauseous medicines. The Celtic Irish hated the Protestant Bible in English and would not receive it—but they welcomed the same book when given to them in their vernacular. Vernacularise your knowledge, and it is no longer an exotic plant, dependent on man and chance.

Those Englishmen in India who think the extirpation of the 15 vernaculars spoken by 200,000,000 of Orientals in India (one-fifth the human race) is easy for a body of foreign conquerors alien in blood, religion and race, who can never colonise the plains, we would refer to the failure in forcing the English language on Ireland and Wales, and to the Moslems who had possession of Bengal for five centuries and could not succeed in the same object. The case of the Welsh is an unanswerable argument to those who fancy a mere *hukum* is sufficient to extinguish a people's language. Wales is on the borders of England, it contains a population of only 1,000,000. Ever since the days of Edward the First the English Government has sought by every means to extirpate the Welsh language. In Elizabeth's days they burnt the Bible because it was in Welsh, and no employment was given without a knowledge of English in all Government Schools. Education was in English, the Church Establishment—all the Bishops and chief Clergy, knew no Welsh. Was the language extirpated? No! so far from this, the Welsh are publishing an Encyclopædia in it now on the plan of the Penny Cyclopædia, they have translated the works of more than 600 English Theological writers, they have a *Quarterly Review*, 15 *Monthly Magazines* with a circulation of upwards of 60,000, and a weekly newspaper.\*

We have always held that the English language as the medium for natives of *leisure* and *ability* acquiring a large stock of European ideas, is an instrument of great value, and we must cordially hail the founding of the Indian Universities as a most important step. But of late we have been astounded with the cry that the vernaculars should not be cultivated, and that

\* A million of people only—on the frontier of England—with an English Government which for five centuries made it a fundamental part of their policy to extirpate their language, and a wealthy Church establishment chiefly of Englishmen through laziness or apathy co-operating in those views—yet what has been the result. We bid Indian Vernacular Book Societies take a lesson from it. The Welsh have published in their mother tongue within this half century six hundred translations, Commentaries on the whole Bible, and several on separate parts of it.

all knowledge human and divine should be communicated only through the difficult and costly medium of English, to one-fifth of the human race. It is forty years since the Serampore Missionaries conveyed their views on this subject in the following strain :—

“ For ideas to be acquired with effect in a foreign language, opportunity, leisure, inclination, and ability must combine in the case of every individual ; and even then scarcely one in ten would so thoroughly acquire the English language as to derive due instruction from the mass of knowledge contained therein. These advantages too must be renewed to every successive generation, and the same advantages of opportunity, inclination, and sufficient ability must unite in the case of each individual. Moreover instruction, to answer its proper design, should be such as to render the inhabitants of a country happy in their own sphere, but never to take them out of it. Those individuals, however, in whom such ability for acquiring the English language united with due opportunity of improvement, would scarcely remain to till the ground, or to labor at any manual occupation ; they would therefore by their education be unfitted for the ordinary callings of life. On the other hand, the successful exertions of one European in acquiring the languages of the country, or of a native in acquiring the English language, might, through the medium of the native languages, not only diffuse light throughout a whole country, (and at one-tenth of the expense,) but enlighten successive generations to the end of time : while knowledge thus imbibed by the common people would serve to expand their minds and enrich their language, and at the same time render them happy in the humble sphere wherein providence has placed them.”

It is very easy for theorists who have never *mixed with the people* to propose such a scheme and build castles in the air—but will the natives of India consent to be thus denationalised and laid prostrate at the feet of foreign conquerors ? The remark of Sir T. Munro, is very applicable here. “ In recommending new systems for India people are too apt to think that mankind are a mere piece of machinery, on which it is perfectly harmless to make experiments every day.” It is a fact that the vernaculars of India have advanced and are advancing *pari passu* with the study of English.

As embodying what we believe to be the views even of educated Bengalees, who have heretofore been such slavish imitators of the English, we quote the remarks of a Native Clergyman, the Rev. Lal Behari De, on this subject :—

“ The vernacular language of a country is the guardian of its improvement, and the foster parent of its genius. It is embalmed in a thousand recollections ; it produces on the mind the most lasting impressions ; it is the readiest instrument of communication. To eradicate, therefore, the vernacular language of a country, is an attempt as unwise as it is hopeless. History, which is the record of experience, teaches us that all attempts to supplant the native tongue of a country have hitherto met with signal failure. The hardy Roman, whose strong hand shook empires to their centre, and who gave laws to nations, influenced their manners, modified their customs, and regulated their religion, was unable to change their lan-

guage. The fanatic Moslem, who converted kingdoms at the point of the sword, was, it is well known, baffled in his attempt to supersede the native dialects of India. Not to multiply instances in modern times, Frederick the Great of Prussia tried every means to change the guttural German for the polished French, with what success the present advanced state of German literature abundantly testifies.

Confining our attention to Bengal, common sense and history equally sustain us in maintaining, that it is impossible to make the thirty millions of Bengalees exchange their mother tongue for the Anglo-Saxon. Imagine a Bengali husbandman holding the plough, and pouring a volley of Anglo-Saxon curses upon his refractory and vicious ox ! Imagine Bengali mothers composing their babies to sleep to the tune of an English lullaby ! Imagine our *Matchooa Bazar* fisherwomen praising up their fish, abusing their customers, and pursuing their noisy vocation in the language and style of Billingsgate ! Imagine our streets filled with London cries, our potato-sellers, our milk-men, our cloth men, our sweetmeat sellers, and our *Saker-julpanwallahs*, all crying up their goods in the approved fashion and accents of London cries ! But enough ; the idea is ridiculous in the extreme, and deserves a conspicuous place in the Republic of Plato and the Utopia of Sir Thomas More.

But were it practicable, it is not at all necessary, to supplant the Bengali by the English language. Our native tongue is admirably qualified to serve all our purposes. From its close affinity to the Sanskrit, the most polished and copious, perhaps, of all the languages of the earth, it is capable of indefinite improvement. The Sanskrit is, pre-eminently, the language of poetry, philosophy, and eloquence. There is no modification of thought however deep, no sentiment however refined, which may not find adequate expression in the vocables of the "language of the gods." With so copious and unfailing a source to draw from, the Bengali language has nothing to fear. In the day of need it will be found nobly maintaining its ground ; serving all the purposes of science, poetry, philosophy, history, and theology ; and contributing to the improvement and amusement of the thirty millions of Bengal. Already is the Bengali language doing honourable service. It is the language of our Courts, civil, fiscal, and criminal ; and the language of theologic instruction. In the hands of a *Bharat Chandra* it has become the language of exquisite poetry ; in those of a *Mritunjya*, of rich parabolic and ethical instruction ; while in the elegant and graceful form which it has assumed in the hands of *Iswar Bidyagur* and *Akhayakumar Datta*, it is admirably fitted for the purposes of history and science. And we have no doubt that it will go on increasing in copiousness, elegance, force, and richness, till it becomes the patroness of improvement, and the guardian of all blessings."

He gives what we believe is the conclusion of the matter, "The English language may be learned by the upper ten thousand ; but for the millions constituting the base of the social pyramid, the Bengali must ever remain the only medium of acquiring knowledge, and so with the other great Indian vernaculars."

The vernacular Press may be taken as an index of native feeling. In 1818, the number of Bengali books annually printed for sale did not exceed 20,000 in Bengal—then came the wish for English, and the neglect on the part of Government and of natives, for a time, of the vernacular. Yet what do we find in the year 1857, with not 3 per cent. of the rural population able to

read—that there were printed for sale, of books and pamphlets in Bengali, more than 561,000 in Calcutta. Men will not purchase books if they do not want them.

Strangers in India, hearing Natives in offices speaking in English, fancy that the ability to read and understand English literature follows—but a knowledge of a language colloquially and as an instrument of thought is very different. Numbers in India study English to qualify themselves as writers in offices or as official machines. This is a very mechanical work, requiring only a limited knowledge of English, a mere whitewashing. While Napoleon regarded education as of value chiefly for making soldiers, our modern English education in India has been chiefly used for making keranis or quill drivers. How many of the waiters at Hotels on the Continent of Europe can speak English fluently as far as their business requires, but they know no more; similarly many native servants at Madras speak English to their masters, but are utterly unable to read a book in English. A number of English also can speak Hindustani, how few can read the literary works in the vernaculars; natives will often repeat a passage in English with a perfect pronunciation yet not understand a word of it.

The great object with which the majority of natives study English is as a stepping stone to employment, but the supply in Bengal is rapidly exceeding the demand. Are we then to have what is now the case in Greece, “young men who would have been prosperous farmers or thriving artisans, if they had been contented with the position in which they were born, crowding the public offices and seeking for employment; they gain the situation by money and compensate themselves afterwards by bribery:” so even now many an English educated native cannot dig, though to beg he is not ashamed. What will be the state of the country when a number of these writers are thrown on the world, with artificial wants created but with no means of satisfying them? With the demand for native writers of English in Government and mercantile offices the study of English is on the increase, and therefore in this direction English will spread, but it will be, as now, to a great extent a surface knowledge, and even when more, it is not the language of domestic life and of the native social circle. Well-educated Englishmen speak French, so do Russians, but it is not the language of the family circle. We have never visited one of these schools for learning kerani English but we felt the truth of the description of them as given by H. C. Tucker. “The mere smattering of English by the majority of boys, without any increase of ideas, appears to me worse than useless, 1st, in wasting time which might have been far better spent in acquiring ideas; 2nd, in promoting conceit and vanity

in such smatterers; 3rd, in giving their parents and others a very low opinion of the results of English education."

We are glad to see those views confirmed by the Calcutta Missionary Conference, who have published a Report called "The Educational Destitution in Bengal and Behar, and the London Christian Vernacular Society for India." The Paper was drawn up by Dr. Duff, and met the unanimous approval of the Calcutta Missionaries. Similarly the Conference of Missionaries at Benares in 1857, resolved that even in cases when Catechists received a knowledge of English, all these branches of knowledge in which they will have to instruct others should be communicated to them through the vernacular, with the view of making them familiar with the terms they will have to employ, with native modes of thought, native illustrations, native objections, and with that native literature the doctrines of which they will have constantly to explode and refute.

While those who have received a thorough education through English can avail themselves with so much advantage of its scientific treasures, it will be a sheer impossibility for the numbers of youths who spend a few years at an Anglo-Vernacular school to qualify themselves as office machines, to gain a knowledge of popular science through English, inasmuch as the technical phraseology is all derived from Latin and Greek and is not of home growth like the German. We have before us now, ~~as~~ an example, an elementary work for English schools on Plants, but how thorny the path—a youth is not able to approach the portals of a simple knowledge of plants except by mastering full 500 such terms as *cotyledon*, *albumen*, *exogen*, *peduncle*. Scientific men who wish to domesticate knowledge protest against those terms, but we fear the genius of the English language has irrevocably fixed them, while the Indian languages can with the greatest ease construct terms intelligible to all with very little study. The mutiny has called forth with numerous Christians in England the desire to have a "glorious revenge," by pouring on the masses of India the light of divine truth through the medium of a Christian Vernacular education, and the determination that, as England has suffered so much from Sepoy ignorance and the prejudices of the untaught masses, so those masses shall be enlightened. Hence the origin of the "Christian Vernacular Education Society" for India. The primary object of this Society is thus stated. "To establish in India *Christian Vernacular Training Schools Male and Female*, and to supply as far as possible in each of the native languages of India, School Books and other educational works prepared on Christian principles. Each training institution to comprise a Vernacular Model School."

This Society has for its President the Earl of Shaftesbury and for its Secretary H. C. Tucker, Esq., of the Bengal Civil Service so well known for his active services of a quarter of a century in the cause of Christian Vernacular Education in India. In the list of subscribers we see the names of Maharaja Dulip Sing, Lord J. Russell and Sir C. Trevelyan.

It must be remembered that the fourteen leading Vernacular languages of India are not mere patois—they are of noble lineage, connected with three of the finest classes of languages in the globe—the Aryan, Semitic and Tartarian. The Bengali, Mahratta, Hindi, Guzerati are spoken by 80,000,000 of people, a number equal to the populations of England, Scotland, Ireland, France, Holland, Spain and Portugal. They are so closely allied as to be rather dialects of the one great Aryan language—the Sanskrit, which is itself affiliated to Latin, Greek, Russian and Galic. The leading vernaculars of India being so related, renders translation from one to the other very easy. The languages of South India belong to the Tartarian class which, as Caldwell in his “*Dravidian Grammar*” has shown, are closely related to the languages spoken in Siberia and Central Asia: on the other hand, the Indian Vernaculars of Persian origin are linked in their terminology and structure with the Arabic, one of the most ancient and noblest of primitive tongues.

The field of action before this Society is a very wide one, and very little cultivated. Out of a population of 180,000,000 in India, supposing that within the next half century 1,000,000 could gain a real knowledge of the English language, there would still remain 179,000,000 whose only means of acquiring any knowledge, human or divine, must be through the mother tongue, and among that number are more than 80,000,000 females, whose influence now is most powerfully antagonistic to the Christian instruction boys receive in mission schools.

The Christian Vernacular Education Society in their programme thus explain the grounds of their formation.

“The existing Missionary bodies cannot supply the education required; and it has been shewn that “as Missions expand, a less and less proportion of their means is given to schools for the heathen” To furnish every sixty Indian children of school-going age with one Christian teacher, half a million of teachers would be required! All Europe could not supply such a body, to say nothing of the expense. We must therefore train natives to do this great work for their countrymen. This department of education is clearly the most important. The education given to the masses must be in their own vernaculars. The miracle of Pentecost indicated for ever the duty of the Christian Church to tell her blessed message to “every man *in his own tongue wherein he was born.*” In Wales the Reformation adopted the mother tongue; in Ireland it trusted to English; and what a lesson does the difference of the result teach!

Christian Vernacular Schools are necessary for the intelligent reading of

a Vernacular Bible. Bible circulation is most seriously obstructed by the inability of the masses to read, and their want of elementary knowledge. In India, as in Britain, the translation of the Bible may be "the first great work in popular and yet standard prose;" and we may yet, if only faithful to our privileges, by extending widely the power of reading the Bible with understanding, place in Christian hands the formation of the mind and the character of the rising generation. Most of the existing native literature is worthless and impure. It is the duty of Christian Britain to supply such a variety of good, interesting, and very cheap Christian school-books and pure literature, as may gradually exclude the defiling native books, and works written upon the principle of ignoring Christianity, and saturate the whole primary education of India with a Christian leaven. Such books will also permeate among the *females*, and gradually, especially when assisted by the living voice of teachers trained in Christian Normal Schools, give a Christian tone to the indigenous education of the country."

It is very much to be regretted that when the Bible Society began its career in India, a Society like the one above-mentioned was not begun at the same time. It would have rendered the millions of Scriptures that have been distributed of far more use, instead of their having been in many cases of as little value to their possessor, as would be, according to the Bengali proverb, "a gun on the shoulder of a man who knew not how to fire." In Bengal not two per cent. of the rural population can read intelligently, and yet more than 2,000,000 copies of portions or the entire of the Bengali Bible, have been distributed. Good men calculated the area of distribution, not by the number of readers but by the number of heads. We may mention one case as an illustration which occurred lately. A bigoted Brahman confessed to having an enormous quantity of Bengali Tracts and Scriptures in his godown—he stated as his reason that he collected all he could to prevent their doing mischief! There are many like him. We fear that few in Great Britain realise the dense intellectual darkness that broods over the rural population of India. How strange on this point was a statement of Dr. Candlish made at a meeting of the Indian Christian Association in Edinburgh, November 1857;—"the faculty of reading is becoming all but universal among the population of India." Not more than 2 per cent. of the rural population are able to read intelligently.

What is the state of things in India calling for this Society. The painful truth comes out that the moral and mental education of the masses through India is little better now than it was 500 years ago. We have not even tapped them. Our work has been too much on the surface. We have had an increase of English education—a valuable thing, but as to the mind of the masses, we challenge any one to deny that what was said 30 years ago by Messrs. Carey, Ward and Marshman



is not applicable to a great extent still, except in a few mission stations :—

“ The wretched schools they have in their towns and villages are so few, that on the average scarcely one man in a hundred will be found, who can read a common letter. But the knowledge gained in these schools is so small, that it does little more than serve to make darkness visible. They merely learn to trace the letters of the Alphabet, to write a few names, and, as their highest accomplishment, to copy a meagre and ill-written letter. Hence, when brought into life, numberless instances occur, wherein their wretched writing and far more wretched orthography, almost the dictate of every man's fancy, render them quite unable to read each other's hands. Hence, too, the perusal of books, from which principles of integrity and uprightness might be imbibed, is quite out of the question. If there be any thing in Menu, or in any other of their writers, which could preserve the tone of public morals, it is never brought within the reach of the common people. Printed books they have none. And as to manuscripts, they have scarcely one manuscript in *prose* ; but, if they possessed a multitude, their ignorance of their own language would render the perusal of an inaccurate and ill-written manuscript too formidable a task to be often attempted. Thus, with a regular and copious language of their own, nearly all who are ignorant of the Sanskrit language (which is not understood by one in ten thousand throughout India) are in a state of ignorance, not greatly exceeded by that of those savage hordes who have no written language.”

In Bengal the Government spend less than the salary of a single Judge, in Grants-in-Aid to Vernacular Schools for 35,000,000. And yet with this state of things we are told we ought to have no Vernacular Education for India, but imitate the Romans who imposed their language on the conquered. The Romans disregarded the enlightenment of the masses, as did even the philosophers of antiquity ; it was Christianity which cried out for knowledge for all ; the Roman language was confined to large cities chiefly—the Vernaculars there were more patois. Among the German nations, the Romans did not succeed, much less could they have done so with oriental nations ; and with the Greeks so far from introducing their language, Greek gained the ascendancy even in Rome in the days of Cicero.

However beneficial, in a pecuniary and mental point of view to themselves, may be the high education given in English to the class called Young Bengal, it has had little effect in leavening the masses. The highly educated talk and write essays, but what will they do ? What is done by them up to the present moment in female education, in giving a high tone to the native periodical press, in establishing schools for the peasantry ? They can read one of Sterne's Novels and weep over a dead ass, but the ryot at their very doors may be tortured and trampled upon, and they will not lift a little finger to relieve him.

Lord Ellenborough in his recent minute advocates educating only the upper classes, stating that knowledge will go down. We

say this has been tried in Bengal for 25 years, and it has not done so, nor does it show a tendency to do so, except in some special cases. The English-educated Zemindars are like the old Irish landless absentees, hovering about town where they can have "wine and women" ad-libitum. Their education has taught them to hold the ryots in contempt. It is to the influence of Christian men who believe that Christ made an atonement for the peasant as well as for the peer, that we must look to give an impulse in favor of educating the masses, who are dumb and cannot plead their own cause.

Natives educated solely through English to the neglect of their vernacular, become incapable of exercising any proper influence on the masses, or of communicating knowledge in a pleasant and popular mode to them. A smattering of English may be acquired by a considerable number about one town, or in immediate communication with the few English residing in India; but the people (the women as well as the men) will, as a whole, only think and speak and read in their native tongue, and their general enlightenment or education can only be attained through this channel. A wide basis, therefore, of a solid though limited education, through the means of the vernacular languages, must be given to those classes which now receive education, before anything permanent will be effected. It is upon this broad basis alone, that the superstructure of a high standard and refined education can be raised, and the superior acquirements of the few very highly educated be made to tell upon and influence society.

How is the mass, wholly unprepared by even an elementary education in western learning, to understand and appreciate the acquirements of the highly educated man, or how is he to communicate his high attainments in science and literature to them, and what possible influence can be therefore exercise over them? In Europe, the bulk of the population who receive an education have ordinarily some elementary instruction in the higher sciences. There is, in Europe, a connecting link, running through all society, which conveys the highest truths of science in an elementary form to all grades, and the acquisitions of the most advanced minds can be, and are, appreciated by those immediately below them, and through them they filter down to the lower grades, who are prepared, in their measure by elementary instruction to receive them.

But what is the case in this country? High acquirements in science or literature will be appreciated and understood by none but the few who are highly educated. There is a broad and impassable line between them and all others. We cannot but think it almost certain, therefore, that the only result of a system which

educates a few highly and leaves the rest of the population without even elementary instruction, is to render all the superior acquirements of that few (made moreover at an enormous cost for the state) barren and fruitless as to any general influence upon Society. The youths or men so advanced will exist in a great measure only as a small isolated class, despising others and neither appreciated nor esteemed by their fellow countrymen.

It is by their vernaculars that the people can be taught either to make or understand translations from western literature, and it is through the vernaculars alone that there can be the slightest prospect of reaching the women of the country, for they must receive all the knowledge they have time and opportunity to acquire through their mother tongue. If they are neglected and they remain wholly uneducated, it may be safely predicted that India will continue as the rest of Asia in its semi-barbarous ignorance.

The elementary instruction proposed to be given by this Society may be despised by some as of little value. It is true that the whole is better than a part, but still the part is of relative value. We appeal to every man who believes the Bible is the charter of salvation—is it nothing to put the masses of 180,000,000 in the way of consulting that, of enabling them to read it intelligently—is it nothing to give them true ideas in history, geography, and the common objects of nature. Who can read Burns' "Cottar's Saturday Night," or the history of those peasants of the Alps, the Waldenses, and not feel that the ability to peruse the Bible alone in the mother tongue is an instrument of great power. Many of those Alpine pastors knew only the Scriptures, yet what mighty men they were.

We have in India more than 100,000 village teachers, who make the vernaculars the media for inculcating all sorts of superstition and obscenity—teaching their pupils to cheat and lie and practise cruelty. Is it of little value to try gradually to supplant such by men who will teach about God's word and God's works, and who will inculcate habits of order and discipline? Is it nothing to form a class of school books with pure morals in them, instead of such as the following sloke most popular in schools in Bengal? "Fresh meat, soft rice nicely prepared, cohabitation with young women, fresh clarified butter, warm milk, and tepid water, are the six things which are beneficial to life."

Legislators ought to co-operate with this Society. Much has been written on the oppression suffered by the ryots, and on torture so generally prevalent—but mere law by itself will not remove those evils. They can be removed only by enlightening the

masses. The slaveholders of America saw very clearly how opposed education was to slavery, when they made the teaching a slave to read and write a penal offence ; we ourselves have heard from the lips of intelligent Zemindars that they did not wish their ryots to read, as then they would not obey all their commands. The late Lieutenant Governor of Bengal, in his celebrated Minute on the Police has given the result of his experience. "While the mass of the people remain in their present state of ignorance and debasement, all laws and all systems must be comparatively useless and vain. Above all things that can be done for this people, is their gradual intellectual and moral advancement through the slow but certain means of a widely spreading popular system of Vernacular Education." The mutiny has shewn how little effect the penalty of death, almost universally inflicted, has had on the mutineers. Jail experience has equally evinced how crime suffers little diminution from punishment. We must then go to the root of the evil—the state of the people's mind, for law has little effect without morals.

The opponents of caste ought to support this Society. We have had satis superque of caste in Education as well as in the Sepoy army. No Education is given at present in Calcutta to any except Brahmans or Khaistas. The ability to read the Bible is practically as much limited in Bengal to the twice born or Brahminical castes, as it was in the middle ages to the priesthood. We need a Wyclif in India who will raise his voice in favor of the people at large having the means of reading, so as to be enabled to peruse the Scriptures in their mother tongue. Lord Shaftesbury alluded to this caste feeling among even good men, when he said on a late occasion in the House of Lords. "The fuss made about a Brahman convert is about the same as about a Brahman recruit." We fear that as respects mission converts from the rural population, little care is taken to have them read the Scriptures intelligently : how much of the Scripture reading in church is to them a dumb show. If the system adopted in Norway were introduced into this country, it would soon produce a great desire to learn to read, viz., none can be married unless they can read and write. Even in Russia every soldier's son is required to learn to read and write. We need more of the spirit of Tyndale the reformer, who remarked ;—"I perceived by experience that it is impossible to establish the lay people in any (Bible) truth, except the Scripture were plainly laid before their eyes, in their mother tongue." Alas there are few even of the Christians in India who, look at a degraded ryot in the spirit of those beautiful lines of Montgomery ;—

“ See in his soul involved with thickest night,  
 An emanation of eternal light,  
 Ordained midst sinking worlds his dust to fire,  
 And shine for ever when the stars expire.”

We want in India more of the spirit of Tyndale, who, when once provoked by the perverse ignorance of a rich ecclesiastic in his neighbourhood, replied;—“ If God spare my life many years ‘ I will cause a plough-boy to know more of the Scriptures than ‘ you do.’ ” How different from Henry VIII. who restricted the reading of Scripture to any one below the rank of a gentleman. We would strongly recommend to this Vernacular Society to discard that principle which gags the mouth and freezes the pens of some of its advocates, when they feel that without Government aid the education of the masses in India is but a dream. They must now remain neutral, impressing on the Government authorities, their duty with regard to enlightening the masses, and why—because that, though nine-tenths of the members of this Society do hold the principle of state grants fully, yet, because there is an ultra section of the dissenters among their number, they must be silent. Why should a minority who give little aid to this Society either in money or influence completely shackle the great majority in their operations, and by preventing its Christian influence on Government, leave the education of the masses in India entirely in the hands of secularists.

With respect to Vernacular Schools, the Christian Vernacular Education Society might learn a useful lesson from the following rule, acted upon with the greatest success since 1823 by the Irish Society for promoting the education and instruction of the native Irish through the medium of their own language—“ A proper person was in the first instance employed ‘ to seek for individuals in a particular district, who were competent to teach the primer of the Irish language. They were to ‘ instruct their neighbours how and when they could, by night, ‘ at home or abroad, sitting under the haystack or upon the wild ‘ mountain side; they were furnished with elementary books and ‘ portions of Scriptures for the purpose; at the end of three or four ‘ months an inspection by the person who engaged them took ‘ place, and the teachers were paid a sum, usually one shilling per ‘ head, for each pupil passing the inspection,” then so much in proportion when they passed in a higher book and books in gradation, so that when the pupil read the Bible intelligently, the teacher had received altogether as head money about 10 shillings. This system, simple and cheap, has really worked wonders in the wild districts of Ireland. The ability to read caused the peasants to study the Irish Scriptures, and the simple plan of head money education is considered by the Bishop of Cashel to have laid the

foundation of those extensive religious movements which some years ago took place in the west of Ireland.

A field will be opened for this Society's influence and publications, even in the Vernacular Department of English Schools, hitherto not worked as its importance deserves. While in Missionary Reports bright prospects were held out of the good from the amount of scriptural instruction given in Anglo-Vernacular Missionary Schools, and surprise was expressed at the willingness of the Hindus to send their children, it has of late been ascertained that very little scriptural instruction was given to the lower classes of the school, for, independently of the paucity of trained Christian teachers, biblical instruction was postponed in many cases until the boys could receive it through English—but by the time they reached that stage of proficiency, the majority of them were taken away from those schools and were sent to non-Christian schools.\* The Christian Vernacular Education Society have it as part of their plan to encourage translations into the fourteen chief Vernaculars of India. The following minute of the Board of the Madras University, made in 1841, may be of use as a guide. "It is to be considered that the whole current of conversation and habits of life among the natives are so very different from those which characterise the education and progress in life of Europeans, that the commonest trains of thought and matters of the most familiar information to the latter, appear new and often inexplicable to the native student." Hence they recommended, rather than a translation, a free exposition, taking in a great measure the character of original composition. To this may be added the advice of Dr. Arnold, that in teaching history they should aim chiefly at the poetry of history illustrating the chief events pictorially.

Throughout India the translators of the Bible and of Christian books have employed indigenous theological terms, on the obvious principle of such being more intelligible and defining themselves. We would recommend the same course to the new Society, and strengthen our advice by quoting from Dr. Whewell in his work on the Philosophy of Science, that words borrowed from common language, and converted by scientific writers into technical terms, are understood after a very short explanation and retained in the memory without effort. They are intelligible much more clearly and vividly than those borrowed from any other source, and they are more manageable in the construction of sentences. In the descriptive language of

\* Between the age of 6 and 10 a sound acquaintance with Biblical History can be given to Hindoo lads through their own language; beginning with Scripture pictures—the parables of Christ, and then the historical parts are usually taught. The pupils are required to refer to Scripture, and to reproduce the lesson on their slates.

Botany, for example, in an English work, the terms drooping, nodding, one-sided, twining, struggling, appear better than cernuous, nutant, voluble, divaricate. Words of classical origin are precise to the careful student; but they are unintelligible even to the learned man without express definition, and convey instruction only through an artificial and rare habit of thought.

Proverbs have well been called "the great universal voice of 'humanity, the wit of one, the wisdom of many,'" having for their three requisites; "shortness, salt, sense." The profound metaphysical Bacon respected them, calling them "the edge tools of 'speech, which cut the knots of business.'" Aristotle made a collection of them; Shakespear uses them freely in his plays; Cervantes in his Don Quixote, Butler in his Hudibras, Fuller and Jeremy Tayler in their works, while the pen of inspiration has indited 3000 of Solomon's "ever young through 'all the centuries of a nation's existence.'" The Spaniards with their 25,000 Proverbs, the French, Germans, and even the cold Anglo-Saxons, make free use of them. In the East we have them in profusion, yet singularly they have been made scarcely any use of either in Bengali translations or in Missionary preaching; an instrument of such power has been left to rust! We fear one of the causes is that Missionaries, and those who compose such translations, do not "freely associate 'with those who speak those languages with native purity, but 'copy the exclusive manners of the Service people.'" We trust this Society will make a collection of them in the different Indian languages, and have them incorporated into their various translations. As examples we insert a few specimens from the Bengali.

<i>Bengali Proverbs.</i>	<i>Meaning.</i>
Ashes on his head, ghee and rice in his house.	One poor in appearance.
Adirám, a guard without shield or sword.	A name to live.
Fainting at the blow of a flower.	An imaginary fear.
Wherever the rice is scattered the crows come.	Where the carcass is there are the vultures.
Food and no mouth.	The end without the means.
A blow of a sword to a dead man.	Striking a man down.
A dead crow fears no blow.	Death removes fear.
A cannon to kill a musquito.	A Steam Engine to cut cabbages.
A chirág near a torch.	Little use of an inferior when the principal is present.
A hunting cat known by its whisker.	Outward signs.
The Mákhál fruit, red without, black within.	Appearances deceive.
Where the kul tree is, people shake it.	No work without hope.
Stealing steel from the smith.	Going into the lion's mouth.

A fakir begs not successfully in his own village.	A prophet is not without honor save in his own country.
An ass carrying sugar.	One who does things without reaping any benefit.
Throwing spittle to the moon and its returning to one's own legs.	Kicking against the pricks.
Pounding gram with a goat's foot.	Attempting great things with little means.

As a political measure the education of the masses is of vast consequence. We cannot afford to leave them in the same state as the late sepoy army was in, "isolated from liberalising, 'humanising and Christian influences, a mine of ignorance and 'fanaticism, ready to be exploded by any spark." Last year it was the belief of many natives in North India that the English were a small body of sea robbers occupying a small island near Sagur, that they had sent all their soldiers to India, and last of all women dressed up as soldiers (Highlanders in their kilts.) In the Hills the popular belief was that the English wanted to get numbers of natives to boil them down into fat. In Western India a Bombay native stated some years ago that he had met with several respectable natives, who believe that the Government are now desirous of constructing railroads in order that they may be able to escape with facility in the event of their overthrow by some native Rajahs, who, they prophesy, will one day surely conquer them. The people were swayed by any and every report which any foe to British supremacy chose to spread, they had no knowledge which would enable them to detect false reports—we see this in the facility with which the Nana and the Delhi princes gulled the masses.

Having closed our remarks respecting this Vernacular Education Society, which has for its object to bring the masses of India nearer to the English mode of thought through the medium of English knowledge imparted in a Vernacular form, we now take up the subject of another proposal, aiming to make Europeans better qualified for their Indian duties, to mix with and influence the natives, by giving them a preparatory training in England in Oriental History and Languages. Haileybury gave that, but since its abolition no substitute has been found. If a special training is requisite for lawyers, medical men, clergymen and military men, a portion it is more necessary for men designed for India.

Though neither of those two great conquerors, Napoleon and Frederick the Great, could force the French language on Germany, yet according to some John Bull is to do it in India—he is to learn no foreign language but foreigners are to learn his. This however is not the view of the Horse Guards, which directs all Cadets now to pass either in French, German or Hindustani,



nor at the London Treasury, where in 1854 orders were issued to all Commissariat Officers proceeding to the East "that besides 'perfecting themselves in French and Italian, they will be expected to learn at least one Eastern language.'" Changes are about to be made shortly in the English Consular establishment, by which a knowledge of one or two foreign languages will be made imperative. Even in England itself French and German will soon become a *sine quâ non* for every person of education, and the English on the Continent find by dear bought experience, that if they do not know French they must submit to be imposed on and cheated in every way, and must return as ignorant of the social condition of the people of the Continent as the veriest cockney.

We hail therefore as a good sign the discussions in the columns of the *Times* newspaper, advocating the establishment of an Oriental College in London, to prepare Europeans destined for India through a course of elementary studies in Indian languages, history, &c., for the better fulfilment of their duties, thus giving them an insight into the social condition, history and antecedents of the people among whom they are to spend their lives. The following is a programme of the proposed Institution as laid down by Sir C. Trevelyan.

"It is indeed high time for us to wipe away the reproach that Oriental literature is less cultivated in this country than in some others, which have not a foot of soil in India, and the still greater reproach that our young men proceeding to India have not even that ordinary knowledge of the colloquial language, without which it is impossible for them to do their duty in any state of life to which they may be called there. The hindrance to the cause of good government and religion in India, which has arisen from this, is not to be told. In order that the discussion may take a practical form, I will suggest a course of proceeding for consideration.

1. That an Institution should be established in London for the cultivation of Asiatic languages, and especially of those of India and China.

2. That the selection of the public servants,—civil, military, clerical, &c.,—should have reference to their general education and qualifications; but that, after they have been so selected, they should not be permitted to proceed to India, until they have received a certificate from the governing body of the new Institution that they are sufficiently instructed in the elements of one of the vernacular languages of the Presidency, to which they have been designated.

3. That persons not in the public service, intending to proceed to India as missionaries, merchants, planters, or in any other capacity, should be at liberty to attend the classes on an equal footing with persons selected for the public service, and to offer themselves for examination in order to obtain a certificate of qualification.

4. That facilities should be afforded for the voluntary cultivation of the learned and more difficult languages, such as Sanskrit, Arabic, and the literary dialect of the Chinese, followed by appropriate examinations and rewards for distinguished students; and that the professors should be encouraged to publish, in forms suited for popular information, the result of their

researches into the literary, social, and religious state of the several Eastern nations."

Even France has an Oriental College where some most distinguished Professors teach Persian, Urdu, Chinese, Arabic, Turkish and Sanskrit, and some of the best Oriental works have issued from the Paris press. Vienna has its Oriental College and a splendid Oriental press, while Denmark sends Oriental scientific missions to the East with the view of encouraging the study of Oriental languages: so does Prussia. In Europe there are 33 Professorships of Sanskrit, and even Trinity College, Dublin, is about to establish a chair of Sanskrit. Germany has showered down titles, medals, and "ribbons of all the colors of the rainbow," on such Oriental scholars as Schlegel and Von Hammer, others fostered such men as Wilkins, Gilchrist, Wilson, Hamilton; Roebuck, and Gladwin.

Russia, so successful in diplomacy and our future rival in Central Asia, knows the value of a special and preparatory training for her agents sent to Oriental countries. Catherine the Great laid down the policy which has been invariably acted on since, that a knowledge of the character and language of the country to which her officers are sent, is a *sine quâ non*. Dr. Max Müller of Oxford, in a letter to the *Times*, gives the following account of her proceedings. "Russia has always been celebrated for her linguists, and where her own resources failed, she has called foreign scholars, or native teachers, to lecture on the numerous languages of the East at St. Petersburg, and at some of the smaller Oriental seminaries at Kasan, Odessa, Nova-Tcherkask, and elsewhere. Brosset was called from France to teach Georgian; Dorn and Bochtlingk from Germany, the former to teach the language of the Afghans, the latter to lecture on the ancient literature of India. Arabic was taught by Sheikh Mohammed Ajad Tantawi; Turkish and the Tataric dialects by Mirza Kasembek; both of them natives of the countries, the languages of which they had to profess. During the late war, the usefulness of officers, civil and military, well acquainted with the Eastern dialects, was felt more than ever by the Russian Government, and new arrangements were made to give still greater efficiency to the teaching of these languages. The University of St. Petersburg was called upon to raise the time-honoured number of the four faculties to five, the fifth being the faculty of Oriental Literature." We quote from an ukase of the late Emperor, dated October 22, (November 3), 1857:

"As we consider that the study of Oriental languages may derive great benefit if, instead of being carried on in the different Institutions under

the Ministry of Public Instruction, it is concentrated at St. Petersburg, the capital offering so many advantages for this comprehensive branch of knowledge, we command as follows :—

The section for Oriental languages, now existing in the University of St. Petersburg, is to be changed into a faculty, with professorships for the following languages :—

1. Arabic ; 2. Persian\* ; 3. Turko-Tataric ; 4. Mongolic ; 5. Chinese ; 6. Hebrew ; 7. Armenian ; 8. Georgian ; 9. Mandshu.

It is left to the Minister to appoint as circumstances may arise, ordinary and extraordinary professors for each of these languages.

The lectures are open, not only to the regular students of the University, but to all who may desire to avail themselves of the instruction given by the professors and teachers. And each public office may send a certain number of students, to whom a knowledge of Oriental language is deemed useful in their respective employments."

The lectures were opened on the 27th of August, (September 8), 1855, and the following is a list of the subjects actually taught by the Oriental faculty :—

"1. History of Persia ; interpretation of Persian poets, such as Sadi, Hafiz, and Atter ; translation into Persian ; Persian calligraphy ; Persian conversation.

2. Turkish grammar ; history and geography of the Turkish Empire ; translation into Turkish ; history of Tataric literature.

3. History of the Arabs ; translation into Arabic ; interpretation of Arabic authors from MSS. ; Arabic grammar ; Koran.

4. Mongolic grammar ; translation from and into Mongolic ; history of Dshingis Chan and the Mongols to the present day ; history of Mongolic literature ; Kalmyk language and literature.

5. Chinese and Mandshu grammar ; history of Chinese and Mandshu literature ; interpretation of Chinese and Mandshu authors.

6. Armenian grammar ; translation from and into Armenian.

7. Georgian grammar ; translation from and into Georgian\* ; history of Georgian literature."

This may seem a frightful list, and yet, since the first opening of the Oriental Academy, three new professorships had to be added, one for Tibetan, one for the Affghan language, and one for Sanskrit."

Some, however, in their zeal against Orientalism, would abolish all Sanskrit and Arabic Colleges in India, forgetting that these are in various cases the only media by which Europeans can exercise any influence whatever over a certain class of minds who are held in great estimation by the natives ; that, according to their theory, such men as Dr. Ballantyne of Benares and Ishwar Chunder Vidyasagar of Calcutta, would have had to leave a leading class of minds without any direction in the right path. So the Pundit and Moulvie classes, the leading minds in the country among the masses, are to be left without any useful influence. Had Nana Sahib and the Ranee of Jhansi in their youth been properly trained, how different might have been

many events in the late catastrophe. The dispute in India on the value of the Sanskrit and Arabic Classics is only another form of the controversy that raged in France in the days of Des Cartes and Malebranche, and in England in Swift's time, as to the value of the Latin and Greek Classics, when the Pope fulminated bulls against the study of Greek as Pagan, and of Hebrew as Jewish.

The tone of opinion of Europeans newly arrived in India, who are ignorant of the history, manners and language of the people, calls for measures being taken speedily to give Europeans designed for India some training for India before they leave England. Hence we quite concur with the following remarks made by the proposers of the Oriental College :—

“ Men who arrive in India after having passed their two examinations—one general, the other special; one purely European, the other chiefly Oriental—will enter upon their duties well impressed with the superiority of their own country, well prepared for the difficulties that have to be encountered, and determined to work for the advancement of all measures in which the interests of both countries are identical. They will look upon the dark inhabitants of India with a feeling of curiosity which is sure to grow into sympathy,—a feeling unknown and unintelligible to those who go there unprepared or full of prejudices. It is in human nature that we take an interest in matters to which we have devoted much of our time, and about which we know something. A student of art will learn to admire pictures which to the unschooled eye are simply repulsive. A student of history will spend many days in searching for a document which to others might seem valueless. It will be the same with those who have paid some attention to the study of the classical language and literature of the Brahmans. As a classical scholar is moved when he sees the unchanged shores of Greece rising on the horizon—as he feels an interest in hearing for the first time the spoken Greek with its living accent—as he is pleased when reminded by what passes before his eyes of the customs, the legends, and the poetry of the classical past,—nay, as he cannot altogether withdraw his sympathy even from the degenerate descendants of an ancient and noble race, the civilian who has but read his *Nāla* or *Sakuntala* will look upon the Ganges and the ancient cities washed by its waves with a mingled feeling of admiration, sympathy, and pity. He will find his mind nerved and tuned for the most important part of a civilian's duty, that of gaining the good-will, the confidence, and ready co-operation of those whom he is sent to govern. He will be anxious to meet those who still speak the language to which he has devoted so many hours; he will have questions to ask, and his hours of leisure will not be hours of idleness. Conversation with the natives will soon become a pleasure to him, because his knowledge of Sanskrit will make him feel at home in almost any dialect of India.”

The Anglo-Saxon is equally proud and exclusive on the banks of the Ganges as of the Rhine, in the Champs Elysées of Paris as in Chowringhee of Calcutta. Frenchmen may tolerate his independence on account of the money he brings, but will Hindus for the money he takes away?

Europeans by a careful study of the language and character

of the natives, must qualify themselves for seeing for themselves, and not trusting to interpreters. The following remarks of the *Saturday Review* respecting sepoy officers are, we fear, applicable to other Europeans also. "Why should the officer talk with the 'only Subahdar in the verandah of his Bungalow when he might 'flirt with the Major's daughter or the Colonel's niece in the 'well furnished drawing room; or there is the book club, and the 'billiard table, and the racket court. Jack sepoy is only a bore: 'the officers do not know the men and the men do not know the 'officers: the officers stand aloof more and more from the native 'soldiers." Is it surprising in this case that we knew little of the enemy's movements, that our Intelligence Department was without news, and that our officials cried Peace, Peace, when a mine was ready to explode under our feet.

The men who will have influence over the natives must be men who mix with the natives and know them, like Colonel J. Abbot, described by Colonel Edwardes as one who had literally lived among the Hazara natives as their patriarch. Every man, woman and child in the country knew him personally, and hastened from their occupations to welcome and salute him as he came their way,—“and what was the result, the district of Hazara, which was notorious for its long 'continued struggles with the Sikhs, is now about the quietest, happiest, and most loyal in the Punjaub.”\* Of another Punjaub Civilian Mr. Raikes writes;—"his was the *barahdaree* 'system of administration,—living in a house with twelve doors 'and all open to the people;" of another he says;—"as a leader he 'lived among the soldiers, as a civilian among the people."

On the neglect by European agents of those studies which would enable them to have some influence over the Moslem mind, we quote the opinion of the late Sir H. Sleeman who moved so much among natives.

"The best of us Europeans feel our deficiencies in conversation with Mahomedans of high rank and education, when we are called upon to talk upon subjects beyond the every-day occurrences of life. A Mahomedan gentleman of education is tolerably well acquainted with astronomy as it was taught by Ptolemy; with the logic and ethics of Aristotle and Plato, with the works of Hippocrates and Galen, through those of Avicenna, or, as they call him, Booslee Shena; and he is very capable of talking upon all subjects of philosophy, literature, science, and the arts, and very much inclined to do so, and of understanding the nature of the improvements that have been made in them in modern times. But, however capable we may feel of discussing these subjects, or explaining these improvements in our own language, we all feel ourselves very much at a loss when we attempt to do it in theirs. Perhaps few Europeans have mixed and conversed more freely with all classes than I have, and yet I feel myself sadly deficient

\* Raikes' Revolt of the N. W. P., p. 28.

when I enter, as I often do, into discussion with Mahomedan gentlemen of education upon the subject of the character of the Governments and institutions of different countries—their effects upon the character and condition of the people; the arts and sciences; the faculties and operations of the human mind, and the thousand other things which are subjects of everyday conversation among educated and thinking men in our own country. I feel that they could understand me quite well if I could find words for my ideas. But these I cannot find, though their languages abound in them; nor have I ever met the European gentleman who could. East Indians can, but they commonly want the ideas as much as we want the language. The chief cause of this deficiency is the want of sufficient intercourse with men in whose presence we should be ashamed to appear ignorant; this is the great secret, and all should know and acknowledge it. We are not ashamed to convey our orders to our native servants in a barbarous language. Military officers seldom speak to their sepahs and native officers about anything but arms, accoutrements, and drill, or to other natives about anything but the sports of the field; and as long as they are understood they care not one straw in what language they express themselves. The conversation of the civil servants with their native officers takes sometimes a wider range; but they have the same philosophical indifference as to the language in which they attempt to convey their ideas; and I have heard some of our highest diplomatic characters talking without the slightest feeling of shame or embarrassment to native Princes on the most ordinary subjects of every day's interest, in a language which no human being but themselves could understand. We shall remain the same till some change of system inspires us with stronger motives to please and conciliate the educated classes of the native community. They may be reconciled, but they can never be charmed out of their prejudices or the errors of their preconceived opinions by such language as the European gentlemen are now in the habit of speaking to them."

We have one proof of the evil effects of ignorance of India in the cry now raised for English law, English lawyers, and the English language for Courts of Justice. Whereas Indian experience points to the Punjaub as the model for Courts, thus described by Colonel Edwardes. "Courts of Justice cheap, accessible and prompt; the exclusion of Vakeels: the confronting the real parties: the arbitration by Panchayats." Sir Henry Lawrence inculcated on his officers "to live among the people, to decide more cases under trees and as few under the punkah as possible, to ride about their district and see and hear for themselves instead of through the Police and Am-lahs" Mr. Raikes, Judge of the Sudder at Agra, states he has seen in a Native State—the Rajah of Patiala's—better justice administered than in the Company's Courts.\*

Meredith Parker, in his "Empire of the Middle Classes," well remarks on this. "It would be rather unkind to inform a man

\* The Court of Directors in 1836 decided that the Vernaculars were to be the language of the Courts on this ground. "It is easier for the Judge to acquire the language of the people than for the people to acquire the language of the Judge: the poorer classes who are the parties concerned in the great majority of cases which come before our Courts, cannot be expected to learn a foreign language."

‘in an unknown tongue that he was going to be hanged, after a trial not one word of which he understood from beginning to end.’ Missionary Societies ought to encourage this Oriental College. Dear bought experience has taught them they cannot always look for the propagation of Christianity in India to foreign agents sent out at considerable expense who, subject to sickness, and waywardness of temper, in various cases abandon their work, and even when they continue few of them know the natives or the natives them. The result is a mere fraction of missionaries are qualified to become what is the real means of making head in India,—the nucleus for gathering a band of disciples around them. To discharge the duty they should be well up in the various phases of the native mind. The learned class of the Hindoos and Mussulmans, though few in number, yet are weighty in influence: these have been generally shunned by missionaries who had little preparatory Oriental study to enable them to cope satisfactorily with them. Hence even in Benares itself, the seat of learned Hindooism, there is not now a single missionary acquainted with the Sanskrit language. We were glad to see the following advice on this subject recently given by E. Underhill, Esq., Secretary to the Baptist Mission Society, to missionaries at Muttra. “The missionary had need to know the Shastras, and be able to meet the learned pundits, with which the place abounds, by an intelligent appreciation of the false philosophy on which the great fabric of Hindooism is built.”

The Church Missionary Society and Gospel Propagation Society have instituted a course of examination in India in the Vernacular for all their Indian Missionaries, before they are appointed to take charge of a mission. It comprises translations from English into the Vernacular and vice versâ, the writing a short sermon in the Vernacular, and conversation with natives. The Church Missionary Society has repeatedly recommended the study of Sanskrit or Arabic to some of its missionaries. The Conference of Calcutta Missionaries some time ago, on their discussion of what further means could be adopted for missions among the Mussulmans, unanimously recommended that missionaries for the Mahommedans should know enough of Arabic to be able to quote from and interpret the Koran. The need of an Oriental College to lay the foundation with Missionaries intended for India, in “home training,” the acquiring some knowledge of the learned languages, literature, philosophy and theology held in esteem by the Mussulmans and Hindoos “as the condition of gaining their good-will and respect, and as the means of acquiring that mastery of their religious and philosophical ideas which can alone enable the advocate of Christianity

‘to argue with them on an equal footing, in an enlightened spirit and in an effective manner,’ has long been obvious to persons who have studied what Missionary qualifications ought to be. J. Muir, Esq. in his able ‘Remarks on the training of ‘Missionary Agents,’ suggests that the students should attend a course of

“Lectures on the characteristics of these languages, and the literature they embody, on the relations of that literature to the mental peculiarities of the people among whom it is current, and on all questions bearing upon the best methods of rendering the languages efficient and attractive vehicles for the conveyance of truth. In the theory and art of reasoning and persuasion, in the best modes of presenting new and strange truths to the ignorant and superstitious, as well as to those whose minds are perverted by false philosophy, by prejudice, or by interest; he should be made acquainted with the superstitious and religious systems, whether popular or philosophical, of those for whose conversion he is to labour, and with the principles on which their several false doctrines may be most effectually controverted.”

Much is said now in England, and with great justice, of the importance of missionary preaching to the Heathen and Mussulmans of India. But an important point is always omitted—the qualifications for the work. One of these is surely, a thorough acquaintance with the various modes, phrases and similes by which orientals express their ideas. This can only be gained in India by a conversancy with Indian history and popular native literature, and by intercourse of a free and easy nature with natives of various classes in society. We fear that judged by this standard not one-tenth of the preaching missionaries is qualified. Vociferation is not impression, and the ringing changes on a few theological topics delivered in a dry, cold, Anglo-Saxon way, is not calculated to tell on Asiatic minds. European Missionaries are generally wide as the pole asunder from orientals in the choice of topics. Even dry law has been enshrined in poetic imagery; as an instance of this we give the following version of Professor Griffiths from Menu, the oldest Hindoo Lawgiver, on the duty of Kings:—

“He that ruleth should endeavour with his might and main to be  
Like the Powers of God around him, in his strength and majesty;  
Like the Rain-God in due season sendeth showers from above,  
He should shed upon his kingdom equal favour, gracious love;  
As the Sun draws up the water with his fiery rays of might,  
Thus let him from his own kingdom claim his revenue and right;  
As the mighty Wind unhinder’d bloweth freely where he will,  
Let the monarch, ever present with his spies all places fill;  
Like as in the judgment Yama punisheth both friends and foes,  
Let him judge and punish duly rebels who his might oppose;  
As the Moon’s unclouded rising bringeth peace and calm delight,  
Let his gracious presence ever gladden all his people’s sight;



Let the king consume the wicked—burn the guilty in his ire,  
Bright in glory, fierce in anger, like the mighty God of Fire;  
As the General Mother feedeth all to whom she giveth birth,  
Let the king support his subjects, like the kindly-fostering Earth."

It may be said the plain preaching of the Gospel is enough. True, God can convert without means at all, but he generally chooses suitable instruments. Now what is plain preaching to a Englishman is positively dull, dry and insipid to an Asiatic. We give our question to the mere Anglo-Saxon—had Mahomed written his Koran in the style of an Anglo-Saxon book, and preached in the style of Anglo-Saxons, where would his preaching influence have been? Even the books of the Bible, designed for all men, shew by their style that an Anglo-Saxon could have had no hand to them.

What an intensely oriental book is the Bible—so much so that it requires years before the Anglo-Saxon mind can fully understand the force of those brilliant, sparkling, oriental metaphors and similes with which Holy Writ is so profusely sprinkled. Contrast the exquisitely beautiful discourses of Christ which, on the model of eastern apologue, never propound a dogma without clothing it with a simile, with the vapid, dull discourses called Sermons which issue in such swarms from the English press. Our old English writers such as Jeremy Taylor, however, followed the Bible model in "thoughts that breathe and words that burn." Where lies the great power of a preacher like Dr. Guthrie—it is in his semi-Asiatic mode of illustration, bringing all nature to furnish the golden casket of truth.

When our blessed Lord, who came not only to atone for mankind but also to "set us an example," taught, how different was his style and oriental manner from that of modern preaching. "By Christ's touching parables, striking similitudes and familiar illustrations, he commanded the attention and awakened the sympathy of all who heard him, however prejudiced or opposed they might be to the humiliating truth which they heard." The fact that "without a parable Christ spake not to the people," is one of the reasons why "the common people heard him gladly." The Wesleyans in England understood this well in last century when many of their ministers, tailors or carpenters originally, by their familiar style and homely illustrations drew crowds, while Fellows of Colleges preached to empty benches.

Even in England, truth through similitude is popular. What a wondrous power for good has been exerted by the Pilgrim's Progress. Albeit written on the thorough oriental principle of clothing abstract truth in the form of allegory, it has been pronounced even by the metaphysical Anglo-Saxon Coleridge as

“the best summary of evangelical theology ever produced by a writer not miraculously inspired.”

Luther, from his understanding the force of music and vernacular poetry on the minds of his countrymen, devoted special attention to working the people with a taste for good hymns and tunes. But in Bengal what vapid and doggerel compositions have we generally under the name of hymns for native Christians, while on the other hand choice language and high poetic talent is shewn in the hymns composed by the Hindus in honour of their Gods or of any event of the day. We need a Cowper and a Charles Wesley for the Christianity of Bengal. Had Missionaries been acquainted with oriental tastes, such compositions as many of the existing Bengali hymns, so degrading to Christianity, would never have been tolerated.

We do trust that both the objects we have been advocating, an *Oriental College* in England for Europeans destined to labour in the East, and a *Christian Vernacular Education Society* for leavening the masses in India, will meet with support. They have the sympathy of men of experience in India who will be glad to co-operate. The Queen's Proclamation has thrown oil on the waves, and every man must carry out its spirit. This cannot be done by the quixotic plan of trying to turn an Asiatic into an Englishman, but by the Europeans becoming, like St. Paul, “all things to all men.”

ART. III.—1. *Report on the Revenue Administration of the Lower Provinces, for 1856-57.*

2. *The Revenue Hand Book, by J. H. YOUNG, ESQ.*

3. *Official Papers, Manuscript.*

A GREAT Indian question is like a huge round of beef: you may cut and come again. And no man will deny that the Perpetual Settlement, and the ownership of the soil, are amongst the great Indian questions of almost every administration. Recent events have set journalists, statesmen, and ordinary administrators to discuss all those measures which may best contribute to the permanence and solidity of our rule. Indeed, we fear that in the din of conflict, the crash of theories, the explosion of old creeds, and the distrust of all experience, some of our leaders of thought and opinion may have been carried a little too far, and like the would-be fine lady in one of Dickens' Novels, may have formed and expressed "an immense variety of opinions upon an immense variety of subjects." This *Review* has, however, as far as was possible, hitherto maintained its principle of being the avowed organ of no single party, but of sifting and analysing all those measures of reform or innovation, by which we hope to reach something tangible and practical at last. No question can be grander in proportion, more intricate in detail, or more paramount in importance, than that of Indian revenue and rent. No interests demand more attention, or fill a greater space, than vested interests in land. And though we can scarcely hope to dismiss the Cornwallis Settlement, to fix the absolute ownership of the land on any one class, or fully to review the revenue operations of a single year, in the compass of one article, we believe ourselves to possess some information not incorrect, and perhaps not wholly uninteresting, which may throw a little light on the effect of our revenue system, and on the possibility of enhancing taxation, introducing English landlords, and raising the value of land.

The Revenue Report of the Sudder Board for 1856-57, which lies before us, is like many of its predecessors, a clear and elaborate report. Men who delight in statistics will find themselves amply rewarded by a perusal of the sixty-nine paragraphs, and the twenty-four appendices, into which are packed a great many things which we want to know regarding the collections, the remissions, the changes in estates, the summary suits, the defaulters, the settlements and the sales, in no less than fifty-two districts, extending from the narrow point of Sandoway on the one hand to the disturbed districts of Be-

har' on the other, and from the most Eastern Frontier of Assam to the unhealthy but profitable annexation of Sumbulpore far to the West of the Grand Trunk Road. We think, however, that more may be done by a closer examination of the working of the Settlement of Lord Cornwallis in one particular district; and without discouraging such readers as honor us with a perusal, by alarming statements and undeniable figures, we hope to present them with some facts and deductions which may help to set one or two speculations at rest. With this intention we shall devote this paper mainly to the land revenue of one single Zillah.

We have seen lately what a district in the North West Provinces was like during a rebellion.\* We now take a district of Bengal, which during the same rebellion, remained undisturbed by aught but vague rumour. In many respects it is a fair sample of the rich and populous tracts included in the Perpetual Settlement. Extensive in size, traversed in one part by several navigable rivers; studded with numerous factories, productive of all the articles essential to the comfort and existence of half a million of natives, not overtaxed, not under-populated, with little or no jungle remaining for the axe to displace, with swamps that from natural causes are year by year converted into solid acres, it is, on the whole, as good a selection as we could make for illustrating some of the main points which characterise landed interests on this side of India. It yields a revenue little short of twelve lakhs in the year. European capitalists are concerned in its products. Influential Zemindars accumulate or disperse its wealth, and increase its litigation. The condition of its population, their possible improvement, the security of real property, and the maintenance of the various complex interests which have silently grown up with the growth of our administration, present a wide and seemingly interminable field of inquiry. But before considering the present state of the rent and revenue there, we shall glance at the condition of the district about one hundred years ago.

It is the fashion to talk of the Zemindarry tenure as the creation of Lord Cornwallis. But the truth is that the nucleus of the system existed in the days of Hastings and Clive. When Shore was luminously expounding the principles on which the revenue of Bengal ought to be collected, he noted it as a fact, that a tract of country yielding one crore of Rupees, or more than one-half the gross revenue of the whole province, was held by some seven Zemindars. These wealthy individuals are now, most of them designated by the title of Raja, that is, wher-

\* See Article "A District during a Rebellion" in No. LXI of this *Review*.  
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ever they still survive. And the tract of country with which we are now dealing was, to speak roundly, parcelled out between two of the seven whom Shore enumerated, with the addition of a third. These three, between them, were liable for the revenue of a country which extended from the Ishamatti not forty miles East of Calcutta to the North bank of the Poddha or Ganges. Of the three families one is reduced from the receipt of rents exceeding half a million to a poor pittance of two or three lakhs a year. The second is represented by an individual on whom a liberal education, and the direct superintendence of watchful Guardians, Collectors and Commissioners, during a lengthened minority, have bestowed just intellect and capacity sufficient to enable him to squander a good patrimony. The third, though noted for careless management and consequent indebtedness, is a generous landlord, a loyal subject, and a *gentleman* with tendencies somewhat in favour of the old school. All these have seen large portions of their Zemindaries alienated to form new and independent tenures. Each, at the commencement of our rule, was admitted as the individual responsible for the Government demand over a very extensive area. Each even then, enjoyed some of those advantages which from use and habit, we are accustomed to associate with the status of a Zemindar, as distinct from that of a mere collecting agent.

Time wore on. The temporary administration by Dewans, the limited settlements for five years, and the able disquisitions of a crotchetty official like Francis, a sanguine administrator like James Grant, and a clear-headed and well-informed Civilian like Shore, himself topped by Lord Cornwallis, resulted in the famous Settlement of 1793. But even in the above short period the number of distinct estates, that is of specific portions of land, on which specific jummas had been fixed, and for which separate engagements had been entered into by individuals liable for the dues of Government, had very considerably increased. The inevitable tendency of our administration, coupled with the mere enlargement of families, is against the permanence of huge Zemindaries. On the other hand the same rule has very largely increased the value of property, and has invested the original Zemindaries now split up into scores or hundreds, with a far greater measure of security than is commonly believed.

In the middle of the last century there were thus three families, the heads of which were responsible for the revenue of one district. In 1793 the number of estates for which separate engagements had been signed, was three hundred and seventeen. Sixty-five years afterwards, or in 1858, the estates on the roll or *Towjih* of the collectorate, number no less than four thousand five hundred and fifty: a number which will be found even

more accurate than that recorded in the Board's Report of this district for 1856-57.

The causes of this increase are not very far to seek. In some cases families grew and expanded: the usual disputes about management and division ensued, and the estate was divided by the revenue authorities, after an amount of investigation and petitioning which would have disposed of one-half of the claims to compensation arising out of the Mutiny. In others, the head of the family made his own distribution before death, or gave, during his lifetime, this estate to a favourite dependant, or that to be an appanage for a younger son. In a third class of cases, whole Pergunnahs, which were then co-extensive with vast and profitable Zemindaries, were put up to public sale not in the district, but in Calcutta itself. A fourth class arose out of the creation of *Kharija* or independent Talooks under the free will of the Zemindar, who marked off distinct portions of his Zemindaries receiving a round sum down to meet some financial exigency. We have good reason to believe that the relentless sales of land for arrears of revenue, and the creation of distinct small estates by the voluntary act of the landholder, went on at an alarming rate during the first ten or fifteen years of this century. All the above causes and a few others may explain fully the multiplication of Zemindaries. Extravagance and recklessness in the owners, as well as peremptoriness in the enforcement of the demands of the State, incredible mismanagement, stupendous frauds on the part of subordinates, unparalleled litigation on one hand, or mere neglect of rights and responsibilities on the other, sundered and split up the immense tracts of country for the revenue of which a few had been liable, into hundreds of smaller and more convenient estates. We are anxious not to encumber this article with statements and figures, but something of the kind is so suggestive of the peculiarities of our system, and of the tenacity of life which the Hindu exhibits, that we subjoin details in this place.

The number of Mahals or estates we have stated to be 4,550. These, again, consist of 4,493 immutably assessed, and 57 with a revenue fluctuating, but not likely to be largely increased. The above are held by men of different castes in the following proportion.

Hindu Sudder Proprietors,	...	...	3,855
Mohammedan Ditto,	...	...	643
European Ditto,	...	...	52
<hr/>			
Total,	...	...	4,550

The Hindu Proprietors again are sub-divided into the following list :—

Brahmins of various ranks, ... ..	1,328
Kayast or Writer, ... ..	2,203
Baidya or Physician, ... ..	209
Bunnia or Shopkeeper, ... ..	14
Teli or Oilman, ... ..	10
Maddak or Confectioner, ... ..	5
Khatri or Military, ... ..	5
Kaibarto or Agriculturist, ... ..	25
Shaha or Vintner, ... ..	32
Karmokar or Blacksmith, ... ..	8
Tanti or Weaver, ... ..	5
Bashtum or Mendicant, ... ..	10
Chandal or Outcast, ... ..	1

Total, ... .. 3,855

From the above it will at once be seen that the 'upper ten thousand' still maintain their ground. Property is still in the hands of those whom we may reasonably suppose to be alive to the advantages of education. The money making shopkeepers, the retail traders, the petty merchants, have not completely dispossessed the rural families of respectability and worth. Estates have indeed changed hands or been cut into pieces, but ownership still runs in the old channels. The number of Hindus of the highest caste in the social pyramid are still more than double all the Mahommedans put together. The pen still monopolises a large portion of goodly heritages. The scales and the yard measure have not won the day. Neither the Mahommedan invasion, nor the English rule, have resulted in the wholesale transfer of ancient riches to new races.

As to the actual revenue no single estate pays as much as a lakh of Rupees, and only two estates are assessed at more than half a lakh, one of which is a portion of a remarkably fine Pergunnah, and the other is a very well known estate devoted, by the will of a former owner, to certain pious, and charitable, and educational purposes, under the immediate superintendence of Government. The estates pay revenue according to the subjoined list:—

	Number.
Above 50,000 Rupees, ... ..	2
Ditto 10,000 do. ... ..	22
Ditto 5,000 do. ... ..	10
Ditto 1,000 do. ... ..	88
Ditto 500 do. ... ..	84
Ditto 100 do. ... ..	419
Under 100 do. ... ..	3,925
Total, ... ..	4,550 Estates.

Considering that in some portions of the district the number of Mahommedans of the lower orders is to the Hindu population as three to two, or even four to five, the comparative failure of Mahommedans to acquire land is worthy of note. There is no positive disqualification under which Mussalmans labour, and often no lack of talent exhibited by them in particular lines. Equally good Native Judges are to be found on the bench from those who have studied *Abou Hanifa* and the *Koran*, as from the class brought up in the tenets of the *Shastras*. Some of the best of the *Darogahs* are Mahommedans. But it takes a long time to root out an ancient race. The Hindoo clings to his land with the love of a Highlander, and with the pertinacity of Naboth. The old families which partitioned out Bengal from the *Megna* to the *Hooghly*, were principally Hindoo. Their numerous dependants, their local agents, were of the same nation, and these are precisely the men who in times of difficulty, rose on the ruins of a patron, and acquired lands for themselves. The spectacle of *Gilbert Glossin*, Writer to the Signet, purchasing at a public *roup* the estate of an *Ellaugowan*, has, we fear, been exhibited scores of times in a dozen different *Zillahs*. But new men, whether Hindoos or Mahommedans, have become *Zemindars* and *Talookdars* by one inevitable process. Whether they collected rents on behalf of their patron for which they did not account, but allowed the estate to come to the hammer by a judicious failure to pay its dues, or whether they took fair advantage of the absence of bidders and made lucky purchases at low prices, or whether in trade and speculation they amassed money which they desired to convert into acres, they have one and all, by various routes, arrived at the unpleasant but inevitable terminus of having to pay for their purchases. We have had a little too much of a very plausible outcry against Government as having discouraged the settlement of Europeans on the land. Government has no more hindered Englishmen in general from buying estates within the last twenty-five years, than it has specially singled out the 52 Europeans above noted for its protection, or lent its powerful aid to establish nearly four thousand Hindoos as landed proprietors, in preference to about some six hundred and fifty Mahommedans, who have stepped in by mere chance. If it be said that the time to have purchased at a low rate has long passed away, and that estates are no longer bought with the same facilities as they were at the commencement of this century; the reply is that, at that period, Europeans were not even amenable to the ordinary Civil Courts, and their exclusion from land was a simple necessity, and we doubt much whether any *European capitalist* then thought about Indian soil as an investment. At this day, whoever wants a large and profitable



estate must pay largely for it by private conveyance. The best estates never come to the public hammer. The bare notification of such a possibility would bring a dozen rival Zemindars into the field. It was said by some of the unofficial Europeans, who gave their evidence before the Committee of 1853, with far greater candour and fairness than the *Colonists* of 1858, that men might wait for years, with the money in their pockets, before they could sight even the chance of a purchase at public auction. The cry against the severity of the Sale Law, as detrimental to permanency of right, like most other patriotic cries, has also been much too noisy. We have just seen that by far the greater number of estates are assessed at a very low figure, and that only thirty-six pay a good round lump of taxation. In the district we are treating of, only 8 estates were put up for sale in the year 1856, and only 65 in all the past five years. Of the whole number of estates put up to auction, through the whole province in which the Perpetual Settlement prevails, nearly one-half belong to the district of Chittagong, and any one who has taken the trouble to cast his eye over a *Gazette* containing advertisements of approaching sales, will hardly be tempted, we think, to invest his money in the purchase of Mouza Kassimnug-gur, difficult to be identified, in a Turruf with a hard name, and rated at a Sudder jumma of 1 Rupee, 9 annas, and 9 pie per annum. The Sale Law, in its very harshness, has driven landholders to look after their affairs, and has saved them from ruin. In only one district, throughout the whole of the Lower Provinces, has there been anything like active speculation, in the last year of the Board's Report, for estates sold for arrears of revenue. In the districts in the immediate neighbourhood of Calcutta landed interests appear almost as secure from risk as they do in the allodial tenures of England. Not 5,000 Rs. were spent, by purchasers of estates, at public auction, in the year 1856, in four metropolitan districts, one of which is the subject of our notice.

To get at the Government revenue in any district is a mere matter of reference to reports. The gross taxation on the whole area of the land can be ascertained to a fraction of a rupee. But to say what proportion rent bears to revenue is not so easy. The following calculation may perhaps serve as a basis. By returns procured from departments other than the revenue, we have ascertained that the number of villages in our district amounts to about 4,500. In other words there is a geographical village for about every revenue mahal or estate. Most people are aware that geography and revenue have no regular connection with each other. Some estates are, indeed, made up of a single mouzah: many others are composed of pieces of half a dozen dif-

ferent villages: others are neatly rounded off, embrace four or five villages and form as compact a property as an estate in a ring fence; and others again are still commensurate with a whole or half a Pergunnah. Taking then the number of cultivated and inhabited villages to be equal to the number of estates on the Government roll, though they have no other reference or connection therewith, we have four thousand five hundred villages responsible for a revenue of twelve lakhs a year. In other words each village would contribute revenue to the amount of 267 Rs. a year. And taking each village, on an average, to include sixty houses, the pressure on each house would be rather under 4 Rs. 8 annas a year. But we believe these statements to be less favourable than census and measurement would prove.

Besides the ordinary revenue derivable from taxed estates there is something levied from those Mahals which have been purchased on account of Government, and where the right to revenue merges in the right to rent. The whole sum derivable from this source in both the Regulation and the extra-Regulation Provinces of Bengal, is about fifteen lakhs and a half, a sum below that derivable from the Crown lands in England, which the late returns give at £270,000. In the single district of our article, the collections do not amount to 20,000 Rupees a year. *Khass mahals* are usually expensive parts of the revenue administration. Government has to buy the estates which invite no purchasers. When it has bought them, it has to identify their sites and boundaries, and to resist half a dozen claimants who maintain that their lands are being invaded to supply the deficiency of the purchased estate, which has gone into the river or taken wings and flown away. And when it has identified and marked out the boundaries, the rent has to be collected by legal means from recusant or disreputable Ryots on indifferent soils, or villages half rumed by fever, inundation, or notorious as the haunts of crime. Farming in the hands of gentlemen is usually a losing speculation. To be in charge of the *Khass mahals* and to work them efficiently was, in former days, the sure sign of a rising young officer. In the present day it is generally found that the safest and simplest plan is to farm out the estates at a moderate rent for a term of 10, 20, or 30 years.

A third source of revenue are the resumed estates. They have been comprehended in the number of estates on the roll, and their revenue is included in the twelve lakhs leviable in the district, which revenue the resumptions increased by rather more than a lakh of Rupees. The whole annual increase from resumption to the revenue, all over the Lower Provinces, may be set down at about 37 lakhs. European officers have begun to forget, though natives still keenly remember, the irritation and discon-

tent caused by these inquisitive measures. We will venture to say that this is the one grievance which educated or respectable natives still acutely feel. It surpasses any vexation arising out of the law's delay. It banishes speculation as to the conduct of the police. It effectually shuts out all surmises as to the injustice of the salt tax. We much doubt whether the resumptions would have been persevered in, had Government fully and clearly anticipated the limited increase to the revenue as compared with the unlimited amount of real discontent. And we think that it would be possible to raise twice the amount tomorrow, in these days of financial exigency, by simply raising the salt tax through one stroke of the pen, without calling forth more than half a dozen letters in the newspapers, or engendering anywhere one quarter of the ill-will which arose out of the Company's attempts 'to enjoy its own again;' for this is the exact equivalent to the well known and detested phrase *baz-yast*.

The resumptions were, however, softened and toned down, as operations progressed. Some estates, by valid title or length of prescription, escaped the grasp of the official. Many were settled with the old rent-free proprietor at a very low assessment: an immense number of small pieces of land were released at once, either because the total of the grant was less than one hundred beegahs, or because no single one of the pieces making up the grant amounted to fifty beegahs. We can say little either in the way of praise or censure, on the very limited number of resumptions which are now instituted by Government. It should be clearly understood that all active inquisition has long ago ceased. No person is called on to show why he claims to hold rent-free land, unless the course of the survey or of settlement should disclose that he is holding lands in excess of an estate, *without any ostensible title at all*. Even with this, the operations of 28 districts are not marked by any resumptions whatever.

But this is not sufficient to set at rest the anxieties of small rent-free proprietors. The claims of the Government are foregone, but those of the Zemindar remain. No lapse of time, it has been ruled, bars the right of this individual to rent, or in legal phraseology, the mere existence of a claim to rent is in itself a valid cause of action *which perpetually recurs*. The Zemindar may sue to set aside a rent-free tenure under the terms of the resumption law, or he may sue simply to assess a tenure at a proper rate, and may call on any under-tenant within his estate to prove the title by which he holds his property and the deed which fixes his rent. There are thousands of small pieces, as we have said, held rent-free by men of all castes and occupations, all over the country, to which, in the present state of the law, mere efflux of time gives no additional security. On the contrary

every additional year may be the cause of invalidity. A generation passes away : documents are exposed to injury from damp, heat, storms, and insects : witnesses die : a troublesome landlord becomes too powerful for his neighbours : a crotchety Judge may require impossible proofs, or may unhesitatingly rule that title deeds are rank forgeries and that long prescriptive enjoyment is in itself no proof of right. It is high time that the Legislature should interfere to lay down some positive rule, above the changing or erroneous data of Judicial officers, in order to secure the comfort and contentment of a large but not a privileged class. We believe that the Bill for the Limitation of Suits introduced by our late Chief Justice, will effectually provide for this. It will not pass into law one day sooner than is absolutely necessary. Rent-free land is rising in value. It is immensely prized by all those individuals, half way between Zemindar and mere Ryot, whom our rule in Bengal has called into existence, and who thrive by speculation, service, or trade. It is a more tempting investment for a substantial householder than a new loan, or a Treasury bill. It is just possible, too, that it may be the means of ameliorating the condition of the agriculturist, who himself expects a lighter taxation when his Landlord is untaxed. To fix some definite limit to harassing and unexpected claims for rent, to promulgate a sharp and decisive clause through which no legal ingenuity shall be able to drive a hackery or a palanquin, will be one good step in the cause of progress to be followed by others of which we have heard something lately in the shape of Amended Procedure, Courts of Small Causes, and prohibitions against Secret Trusts, and Rival Markets.

We sum up the results of our survey of the revenue functions in a single district. The Government demand is about twelve lakhs a year, including the increase from resumed estates. Government as Zemindar collects rents, we will not say holds lands, to the amount of 20,000 Rupees a year. In the space of two years not a single person was imprisoned as a defaulter, on account of revenue, and only eight small and insignificant estates was put up to sale, on the same grounds, within the year. The amount of taxation falls on each house, taken one with another and including an immense area of cultivation, at the rate of about Rupees 4-8 a year. The security of Zemindarry tenure cannot well be improved by any means short of the absolute extinction of the land tax, and the position of the Zemindar is quite as influential as is compatible with the freedom of the executive, and with the rights of other classes.

An enquiry into revenue leads naturally to a consideration of other rights besides those of the Government at the top of the pyramid, and of the Zemindars immediately beneath ; wherefore

descending a step lower, we come to the under-tenants or middlemen, of whose insecurity we have all heard. In the present state of our Revenue Law, we may affirm generally that no one class of under-tenures is specially protected by legislation with the exception of those known as Putni Talooks. A Putni Talook, is, as its title expresses, nothing less than an estate within an estate, a Talook created, let fall, or established on the whole or on part of the Zemindarry by the voluntary act of the Zemindar. It differs from other under-tenures in this, that the holder thereof, in consideration of a bonus, acquires a rent fixed in perpetuity, and every right which is inherent in the Zemindar. The tenure can descend by inheritance, or be transferred by private sale, and the Talookdar has the privilege of creating similar estates under himself, subject always to his own liability for the rent fixed by the Zemindar. These inherent rights can be devolved on Putni Talookdars of the third or fourth degree, and the Putnidar becomes the regular rent collector to whom the Ryots may look for all matters relative to their own engagements, and the Government for information when any practical emergency arises. But as a set off to these advantages, the Zemindar having alienated his Zemindarry rights to the Putnidar, stands to the latter somewhat in the relation in which the Government stood to the Zemindar himself. In other words, as the Government can advertise and put up to sale the estates of defaulting Zemindars at four periods in the year, so can the Zemindar advertise and sell the tenures of defaulting Putnidars twice within the twelvemonth. The sales are conducted under similar forms and with the same peremptoriness as those for the dues of Government: and all subsequent incumbrances created under the Putnidar of the first degree are avoided, unless such under-tenants choose to stay the sale by depositing the arrears. Practically, however, actual sales are few in number, and they are liable to be set aside by the tedious process of a regular Civil Suit. Only one sale took place in the year 1858, out of some scores of suits instituted, as the mere notice of auction had the effect of compelling payment. Many Europeans hold lands as Putnidars of the first degree, in the district of which we are treating, and it is obvious that if this tenure can be surrounded with adequate securities, it may become, for all practical purposes, quite as safe an investment as a Zemindarry itself. As regards facility of acquirement it is much easier to acquire a profitable Putni than a large estate. A Zemindar will not part absolutely with his estate by private conveyance, and will take tolerably good care that it shall not be put up to sale for arrears, but he will have no objection, on receiving a round sum of money, to create a subordinate estate and delegate his entire privileges to another. Here then is the facility for investment:

what is required is, protection for the man, who has paid his money, against the inexorable punctuality of the Government sale for arrears. As it is, the Putnidar has a definite existence. A special law defines his position, records his liabilities, points out his danger, provides his safeguard, and proclaims his rights. But the law does not raise him above that indefinite dread of eventual extinction by the default of the Zemindar, under which, as long as it lasts, no generous outlay, no permanent improvements, can well be expected. If the Putnidar acquires the rights of and succeeds to, the position of the Zemindar in connection with the land and its occupants, he ought to be placed in a similar position with regard to the Government; that is, he ought to be held responsible for no default but his own. Everything that can be said on this subject with regard to Putnidars, applies equally to all under-tenures of every other description, in behalf of which no such special legislation has been framed. A few of these creations are protected by the sale law, and the sale law itself, as we have shown, very rarely comes into play. But where there is the way, it may be discovered by the corrupt will. An under-tenant, let his rights or denomination be what they may, (and it is usually something terminating in *dar*,) may be the most important man in the whole of one or two villages. His existence, though not formally recognised in our revenue code, is perpetually alluded to in a long series of enactments. The Courts may teem with cases in which his rights are constantly attacked or assailed, and a great deal of the local law literature may be tinged by his claims. If a tank is to be dug, or a market established, or a road laid down, or a swamp to be drained, it may be that little can be done till his co-operation has been ensured. If crime is to be concealed and offenders are to escape with impunity, his word may shut the mouths of the population against the enquiries of the most energetic detective: if the estate changes proprietors by private conveyance, it is as he wills it, whether matters go smoothly or the reverse. We admit freely that in spite of the legal right of avoiding almost all encumbrances acquired by a purchaser at public auction, it is not so easy to eject or to annihilate one of these strong middlemen. The same stubbornness that confronts an auction purchaser, may equally oppose a purchaser by private sale, who comes in on a less advantageous footing. But if land does change hands and if puttuni Talooks are created, or estates are farmed out with profit both to grantor and grantee, as daily happens, why should we wish, under any circumstances whatever, that flourishing under-tenures should be rendered null and void? Why should it be good policy to annihilate by law such creations in one case, and to let them take their chance and maintain themselves as best

they can in another? Why invite purchasers to the Collector's sale room by holding out a special inducement, when, without such special inducement, land is daily mortgaged and transferred in the private Cutcherry? The law for the protection of all bonâ fide under-tenures, after registry and on summary enquiry, like most other necessary laws, has been delayed from clamour, from timidity, and from the pressure of untoward circumstances. On the one side is the welfare of an increasing class of the native community, the frequent investment of moderate capital, and the wants of our real middle classes: on the other the increased selfishness and the alarmed cupidity of a few Baboos, who have got up a ridiculous cry about danger to their own vested rights, and insecurity to the Revenue. The issue of the contest, we trust, is at hand. The European speculator, warned by the danger of asking for too much, will gracefully accept whatever may be tendered to him by an amended Bill. The timid Official may rest assured that by the insertion of a judicious clause or two, not one anna of the just dues of Government will be endangered, and the Baboos may write their pens down to the very stumps in vain.\*

A few words may here be not out of place regarding summary suits. Taking one district with another they average rather more than a thousand a year in each district of the Lower Provinces. In some Zillahs the number falls to 200: in one it rises to eight or nine thousand. A complete knowledge of the various motives with which nearly fifty thousand of these cases are yearly instituted, would give a curious revelation of the ways of Ryots, Agents, and Zemindars. Some men sue because their rents are unfairly withheld by the parties who ought to pay them: some are sued because they will not pay without an injunction from the Revenue Courts, and because a mere receipt given by a Naib or Gomashlah can at any time be repudiated by the giver, whereas a decree signed by the Collector is good against the world: some men sue furtively and without duly serving the notices in order that they may come down on the luckless defaulter, who has shewn himself to be an 'obstructive' in the village, and so may put up his tenure for sale: and some carry on a long series of collusive actions with shadowy parties, who either confess judgment or allow it to go by default, with the sole purpose of acquiring documents which may substantiate a claim to real property, which after due preparation of deeds and diligent tutoring of witnesses, is about to be urged in the regular Civil Courts. But, for all this, the summary suit is a necessary part of our Revenue Code, and it will be just as necessary whenever all Ben-

\* The above was written before the passing of the Bill, on which we congratulate the Government, and the community.

gal shall have been sold. The men who are held to pay revenue under compulsion or who merely want their own dues, must have the means of realizing their rents. No rights are adjudicated on by the Collector. A year's time, and not the preposterous limit of twelve years as in many other cases, is allowed to a discontented sufferer or to an intervener to establish his position by a regular law suit, if such have been prejudiced by a summary decree. Occasional instances of unjust or vexatious attachments occur all over the country: and the cattle of Gopal are summarily sold for prices below their value, or the tenure of Faizoo vanishes from before his eyes, but this, till Bengali nature change, will be unavoidable under any series of laws which the wit of the statesman, or the earnestness of the philanthropist, shall be enabled to devise. In such an age and country there will be oppression, outside the Courts, by violence and rapine, inside them by all the means which unscrupulous ingenuity can bring to pervert the Law. We may reduce the chances of success in favour of fraud and perjury, but we shall no more extinguish this class of crimes than all the Peelers have been able to extinguish or put down the practice of picking pockets on the Derby day, or in a large London crowd.

It is impossible to discuss revenue questions satisfactorily without endeavouring to ascertain in some measure the definite position of Zemindars and Ryots with regard to ownership in the soil. Various conflicting and irreconcilable theories have been held on this head, and it must be admitted that more than one party appears to have co-existing rights in one and the same thing. We shall now try and define how far the rights of ownership of any person can be said to be marked out in broad and distinct lines either by practice or law.

We take, first, the Zemindar; that is the person who has entered into a separate engagement to pay a specific sum on a distinct portion of land. At first sight it would seem that this individual were possessed of rights vesting him, like a squire, with the real ownership of the soil. He has the right to rent derivable not only from the ordinary occupations of agriculturists over the cultivated area of his estate, but to all additions in the shape of *jalkar*, *bankar*, *Phalkar* and *Talkar*: that is to fish from the marsh, wood from the jungle, fruits from the garden, and droppings from the trees, or waifs and strays in general. He has the enjoyment of all the rents of profitable Hauts or open markets, and of Bazaars, and the privilege of establishing new ones, to his own advantage and to the detriment of his rival. He asks the permission of no party if he desires to transfer his rights, and he expects that those subordinate to him shall require his permission or concurrence before they transfer their own. All the



above rights and privileges are recognised not only by the statute law, but by the common law and custom of the country as expressed in mortgages, sales, leases, agreements, and the like. Not a lease is given by him without a stipulation that the lessee shall maintain the boundaries, shall make no excuses on account of drought or inundation, deaths or absconding, and shall not *cut down the trees*. If a railway station is to be established, or a road opened in a new tract of country, the permission of the Zemindar must be secured privately, or obtained by legal method. If a tank is to be dug, at which the inhabitants of four villages shall draw water, he may lawfully put in his objection because so much area of cultivated land as shall be swallowed up in the reservoir, tends to deprive him of so much of his rent. All these acknowledged rights are enhanced by the influence which his position has conferred. The legislation looks to him by express declaration, for the postal service on all cross lines in the district, for the detection of the crimes by which he occasionally benefits, and for the aid of the executive which he constantly opposes, for the prevention of the cultivation of the poppy or of the illicit manufacture of salt, and as ruled by the Highest Court in the country, for the nomination, at his pleasure, of the village watch. If these last provisions impose certain duties, they also bring with them an increase of influence and weight in the country. The position is naturally improved by the talents of the occupant, and he rises or sinks in proportion as he attends to his Zemindarry management. Under an energetic Zemindar the lands are carefully measured perhaps a dozen times in the course of a generation, and no excess can escape detection: if a lease or incumbrance is created on the estate, a considerable bonus is first paid down to him: not a Ryot will grow a beegah of indigo without the permission of the magnate: not a domestic feast at the 'big house' is celebrated, neither the marriage of the son, nor the weaning of the first child, without the levy of benevolences: to few lawsuits or fines do the tenants not contribute their quotas: and few local events of any importance are ever withheld from the knowledge of the working Zemindar. Take these rights to collect and to assess rents, to measure lands, to dispose of them in part or entirety, to provide places where the necessities and even luxuries of life shall be collected and exposed for sale: take, we say, the obligations to maintain the laws and to assist the authorities which can be enforced by penalties, and add to them the influence which arises from increasing wealth, from knowledge of legal high roads and bye-paths, and from the power to maintain a host of dependants and retainers: take all this, and what more is wanting to constitute that absolute ownership in estates which we are all so familiar with in the squirearchy

of Great Britain, or which we have read of in the nobles of the Russian Empire ?

On the other hand, any such unqualified and absolute ownership in everything is not to be found in any statute law. On the contrary, the language of the Regulations from 1793 downwards expressly speaks of rights or ownership in land as inherent in other parties, and of Zemindarry rights, however defined and to be respected, as not incompatible with other claims to ownership in the soil. There is express mention of the *khamar*, *nijjote*, or *nankar* lands, which are termed 'private lands,' and which are evidently distinct from those where the ownership is *ownership in the mere rent*. We hold that though, by the wording of the Regulations of 1793, the property in the soil was held to be vested in the landholders, the language of the Code did not and could not annihilate the rights of others, nor create a proprietorship or a permanence in any rights other than those enjoyed by the Zemindars previous to that settlement. The Collectors of revenue and receivers of rent, from being temporary, became proprietors of rent in permanence, like hereditary State Pensioners and nothing more:

Nor is this language, distasteful as it may be to some parties, at all at variance with that established custom which is independent of written enactment, and stronger than codes. A wide and well-known distinction exists between land held *Ryotti*, and land held *nijjote* or *khamar*. The latter is land which must be cultivated by hired labour or by those who are paid by one-half of the crop. It is on this land that a small proportion of our indigo is cultivated, and that the gardens which enclose a paternal residence are not unfrequently laid out. If a jumma is to be converted into private property, it must be *regularly sold and bought*. If ground is required for a new Haut, even in the very centre of a large Zemindarry belonging to a powerful Baboo, it can only be procured by either acquirement of the tenure or by taking a lease. No Zemindar, even in the wildest dreams of absolute power, ever deliberately holds that he can plant or build, erect or destroy, on any plot of ground which may take his fancy. No villagers, however abject, ever practically consent to such an abnegation of their rights. Examples of forcible dispossession, constantly cited, support our view, for they rest on illegality and brute force. Then as regards the lien held by the Zemindar on trees and gardens, or as to his consent before a road can be laid down or a tank dug, such provisos depend really on his indefeasible rights to rent. As one who engages for the revenue due to Government, he is most properly considered entitled to everything that furnishes or enhances rent, and no act by which rent may be lessened or imperilled can be permitted

without his consent. If timber is recklessly felled, and the Ryot immediately afterwards dies or deserts, the land is, obviously, less valuable in the eyes of the next tenant: if a certain area is withdrawn from cultivation for public purposes or social convenience, the rent due on that area must be given up. It is in this view, as we hold it, that stipulations in favour of such rights run through the whole of the documents under which land is everywhere held or exchanged. The right to rent is extensive, absolute, indefeasible: the right to the soil is not inherent in the Zemindar's title or position, is not so sanctioned by law, nor so grounded in practice, and either resides in other parties who can be identified, or must devolve on the Zemindar, whenever it does devolve on him, by an entirely distinct process.

In order to support this view we shall consider the position of those men who are admitted by many theorists to have permanent rights in the soil, which neglect cannot obliterate nor cupidity absorb. Whatever denominations such tenant proprietors may bear in various parts of the country, seem to us wholly immaterial. The tenure may be *mourusi* or *mokurrari*, *khloodkhash* or *kadimi*, *jummai* or *nijjote* or *gantidari*, or anything else in the endless repository of revenue terms. It matters little whether the land so held be ten beegahs in extent or fifty, or one-half of a village, nor what precise distinctions may characterise such independent tenures in Bengal or in Behar. If we can light upon men who hold lands at fixed and permanent rates, either under pottas of 60 or 70 years old, or under immemorial prescription, which lands they can sell, sublet, devise, or mortgage and on which they can plant and build, it is in such men that we ought to look for distinct evidence of something like ownership in the soil. Some men of considerable experience have been led astray into imagining that they discovered a new kind of tenure because it is presented to them under a new name. In a very able report on the Railway, No. IV. of the selections of the Bengal Government compiled by one of the most practised Revenue officers, who however has given the Indian world ample proof that the study of Land Revenue does not make a financier, we find that a certain tenure termed *Koorfa* is "confined to this part of Bengal and chiefly to the neighbourhood of Howrah, and Sulkeah and Serampore." The tenure is clearly and fully described in pages 28 and 29 of the number indicated, but as for its being confined to the line of railway or to the right bank of the Hooghly, we have only to say that we have met with this very tenure, sometimes under the same name, but oftener by a totally distinct one, in hundreds of instances, in two or three districts in the East of Bengal, absolutely identical, in every respect, down to the minutest characteristic, with the tenure said to be limited to Hooghly and

Howrah. The real fact is, that all over India, there are certain rights of tenancy, enjoyment, and virtual proprietorship, which a close inspection will recognise as the same in Oude, in the Doab, and in Lower Bengal, however they may be modified by local peculiarities, or distorted in provincial phraseology, or elevated to the dignity of a new and unheard of tenure by the wearisome ingenuity of a crack Collector, an individual sometimes as great a nuisance now, as he was when Shore compiled his 'Notes.'

Ownership in the soil means, to our thinking, that you are able to deal with the earth as you think fit. We contend that the Zemindar's lien on the soil is only precautionary, and for the preservation of his rights to rent. Unless he holds private lands which he cultivates by his hired or domestic servants, his connection with the earth itself is absolutely nothing. He is never called on for landlord's repairs. No rows of neat cottages rise at his cost. With the succession of crops, the direction of agricultural operations, the extension of date cultivation, or the laying out of other gardens, he has, as Zemindar, nothing to do. If he establishes a factory, he must take a lease for the land on which it is erected from a man who perhaps is not worth 20 Rupees: and if he cultivates indigo, he must do so on his own private lands or get the Ryots, just on the planter does, to take his advances, and to grow the plant on their own.

Again, the position of a respectable resident villager with a jumna is linked to those responsibilities and advantages which we have seen do not belong to the Zemindar. Such a resident erects and repairs his own dwelling, cuts his own bamboos, makes or mends his own fences, cleans out his own private tank, enlarges his date gardens, and establishes cultivators on parts of his tenure, who without being mere tenants at will and not being liable to ejection as long as they pay their rent, are still very far removed from the acquirement of any right but that of occupancy, at a fixed rate, for a certain time of years. That there are thousands of such small proprietors or tenant proprietors all over Bengal, is undeniable, and though they have lost all the characteristics of a village community, if they ever possessed any, and though neither a beneficent legislature nor a vigilant executive has surrounded them with those safeguards, which, in Hindostan, without a mutiny, might perhaps have lasted a century, it is not the less to them that we must look for those distinct, positive, and practical acts by which reasonable men are content to recognise an ownership in the soil. Such an ownership is not paramount nor exclusive; it is not incompatible with the exercise of large privileges on the part of the Zemindar: it admits of other liens co-existent in other independent parties: but it comes as near to a tangible proprietorship in

visible objects as perhaps we have any reason to expect in such a country of conflicting interests and of ill-distinguished claims.

That the land was not the King's in ancient Egypt which resembled ancient India, but the tenant proprietors, we know from Holy Writ. Amongst other statesman-like projects of Joseph, when ruler of the Delta, we read that he bought "all the land of Egypt for Pharaoh." That is to say, he acquired by purchase for the sovereign, all the proprietary right in the lands. What Joseph did on a wide scale for a kingdom, is, now practised according to his opportunities and abilities, by every Bengali Zemindar. Every rich and influential person purchases a jumma, or buys up the land whenever he can. Generally the purchase is made in the name of a dependant under our detestable system of Secret Trusts. Sometimes the jumma is situated in the purchaser's own Zemindarry, and sometimes in that of an adversary or rival. The object in any case is to give the purchasing party a firmer and more advantageous footing.

It seems to us absurd, after this, to hold that the Zemindarry-right conveys everything in absolute proprietorship, or to suppose that rich Zemindars would voluntarily descend two or three steps, incur certain expense and probable litigation, were they not convinced that more was requisite to the consolidation of their power, and that the acquirement of a *Jumma* or tenant right in the soil did convey *a something* which neither the Perpetual Settlement, nor the entry in the collectorate *Towjih*, nor the ample resources of a Zemindarry, had yet been found to convey. A squire in England does not think it worth his while to purchase the status or rights of a yeoman, unless he want a political vote. A Zemindar of Lord Cornwallis, with all his power, does think it worth his while to obtain a jumma because it places him in contiguity with the soil.

There are, in fact, as it appears to us, three or more rights connected with the land. The Government, *pace* Lord Harris, has an immemorial right to tax the land, without exercising proprietorship, as it might tax tobacco or silk to-morrow. The Zemindar's claim is paramount over everything in the shape of rent, and extends to whatever facilitates or imperils its income and to all products from which rent is derived. But if there is ownership in the earth or its products, it is to be sought for in those men, by whatever denomination they may be designated, who reside on, cultivate, and sublet a moderate tenure, and deal with it as they choose. This ownership however subordinate to other claims or weakened by neglect, or qualified by custom, or circumstances, or borne down by the domination of a powerful class, is yet a virtual and tangible fact. Anything more definite we have been unable to discover. But we think it would take a

good deal of reasoning to make out anything more, definite in the shape of absolute ownership, either on the part of Government or on that of the Zemindar.

Whether the benevolent author of the Perpetual Settlement had any very distinct idea of the exact position of a Bengal Zemindar towards the soil and its cultivators, may by some be doubted. It is possible, however, that making allowances for a few differences in habits, he did hope that an Indian landholder would diffuse similar benefits over his estates to those which have been so freely imparted by a resident gentry in England, between whom and the peasantry there exists a traditionary and firm bond of union. We think that a residence of some years in this country may have possessed Lord Cornwallis with some knowledge of the real position of Zemindars here, and may have prevented his entertaining those ludicrous conceptions of Eastern squirearchy which many members of both Houses of Parliament, as shown in the late debates on Oude, have entertained to this day. Possibly his ideas and those of his colleagues regarding a model Zemindar, whom the settlement was to develop, may have assumed some such shape as this. He hoped, we say, that one day some experienced and large-minded Commissioner might write as follows :—

“ Baboo Ishwar Chandra Banerji, a high caste Brahmin, whose great grandfather held lucrative offices in the days of Warren Hastings, is the owner of three profitable Zemindaries in the Pergunnah of Nirick-ba-hal. His residence is a comfortable pukka mansion in the centre of his principal Talook of Dhurmpore, on which he resides with his family, for the greater portion of the year. The surrounding village is held mainly by him as a home farm and cultivated by his hired servants. The rest of his property is in the hands of resident Ryots, or respectable middlemen, with *Mocurrari* or *Mourusi* leases created by his grandfather and rigidly respected by himself. The management of his home farm has afforded him signal advantages for the introduction of two or three new kinds of produce : and by his practical example he has induced many Ryots to manure their lands, to thin out their over-luxuriant gardens, and to weed their fields during fallow time. He has also in correspondence with the Agricultural Society of which he is an associate, devised some means for checking the ravages of blight and insects, and has materially improved the breed of cattle in the vicinity by the introduction of better stock. In 1855 he cut a deep watercourse, in concert with some of the larger tenant proprietors, which had the effect of draining the Hanspookria jheel and reclaiming some 500 acres for the plough, which he let out at moderate rates ; and in 1858, the year of great scarcity, he generously remitted one-fourth and even one-third of the rents of his poorer Ryots. The collection of his rents is entrusted to the hands of respectable natives, mainly Hindus, and his arrangements for the grant of Dakhilas or quittances are so admirably contrived that it is very rarely that either fraud on the part of the rentpayers or imposition on the part of his local agents can escape detection. Only last year he discharged a Naib who asked for *Salami* all round the village at the Pooja time, and who was keenly suspected of fabricating leases and agreements to his own special advantage. As, however, his principle is only to help those who

will help themselves and to make the Ryots contribute their share to every useful work, he insists on the payment of a moderate cess from each substantial Ryot to be strictly devoted to his village road-fund, to the excavation of tanks, and to the establishment of his new Dispensary and of Vernacular schools. It is admitted, however, that he found more difficulty in this at first than his neighbour, the well known Mazbut-Al-Huk did, when he levied a round fine all through his estates to cover the expenses of a very serious and expensive affray, terminating in a sessions case, but by a little explanation and management everything was satisfactorily arranged. He has entirely succeeded in extirpating a nest of dacoits and burglars, who huddled together in one corner of his estates, and after carrying a series of summary suits through one quarter of a recalcitrant village of *lottials*, he has now no further trouble with his collections. His litigation has been chiefly confined to a few boundary disputes, augmented partly by the injudicious and irregular proceedings of the Survey department, and to some suits for the establishment of his rights when endangered by unjust assumption or encroachment. The rent-free holders in his estates remain quite unmolested. He spends some hours of nearly every day in his Cutcherry, and is the arbiter of all disputes amongst his Ryots relative to caste, marriage, abuse, and assault; levying small fines proportionate to the harm done, which are usually at once paid over to the injured party. He has a moderate acquaintance with English, but writes and reads Bengali and Persian, and he was one of the foremost to get up the petition for the late Hindu marriage act, though he maintains his orthodoxy in other respects, and is liberal to Brahmins, Pundits, and the deserving poor."

Will any candid person assert that such expectations were extravagant? And can any person, really acquainted with the interior of the country, conscientiously say that the above is a correct picture of any living Zemindar in any half dozen Zillahs? Or will not the same well-informed and judicious person be ready to fit the subjoined description to a score of different Zemindars within his own personal knowledge?

"Munshi Yama Prasad retains the title prefixed to his name because his great-great-uncle was Munshi in the family of the predecessor of the present Raja. It is shrewdly suspected that during his incumbency the said ancestor found means to enrich himself at the expense of his employer, inasmuch as this family four or five generations back had only a few beeghas of land: but what is quite certain is, that by some means or other the present incumbent has succeeded to the possession of very considerable estates. In the management of these estates he displays an undoubted ability of a certain kind. Not that he is in the habit of visiting his villages in person, but he holds office daily and has reports regularly submitted to him of all his collections of rent and of the progress of disputes out of, and of cases in, Court. He is rigorously punctual in the exaction of his dues, and though immersed in litigation, has divers ways of recruiting an impoverished exchequer. Whenever a remarkable event takes place in his family, or when a law suit is lost, or a heavy fine inflicted, or a benevolent individual digs a tank or builds a bridge in his neighbourhood, the occasion is wonderfully improved for the exaction of a *Nuzzur*. The sum taken in this way both by the Zemindar and by his subordinates all through the year amounts to about 4 annas in the Rupee of rent. At the same time it is to be admitted that Yama Prasad has set up two or three very profitable Bazaars, Haats, and Gunges in his Pergunnah of Zabar-o-zer, to the utter dis-

confiture of the proprietors of several old established markets who have been irretrievably ruined by the contest. To these new Bazaars the purchasers were only attracted by the presence of a number of *lattials* who seized on passers by and bore them off in triumph, and it was not until a house or two had been plundered, and two or three individuals had been reported as missing for the better part of a year, that the rival or recusant villagers abandoned the field. An uniform process of exaction goes on at these Haats with the cognizance and authority of the Zemindar. There is something to be paid to the Naib, something to the inspector of Ghats, and something to a kind of rustic justice whose functions it is to look after the weights and measurements. Still, for all this, the Bazaar is much frequented. The situation is admirably chosen. The shops are large and well supplied. Purchases are made more cheaply there than at Bazaars of smaller proportions. The Zemindar is a great hand at leasing, subletting, and the like, invariably driving a profitable bargain, but even his opponents or constituents, the Planters amongst others, admit that when he has once made a bargain, he sticks to it. Amongst the other parts of his character must not be omitted his occasional munificence. He has never given up one anna of his rent in any bad season, but he has been known to spend as much as a lakh of Rupees at a *Sradika*, the greater part of which went into the pockets of sleek Brahmins and respectable men from neighbouring districts. And he has taken care to be nightly civil to the Editor of a well known vernacular paper. He has a capital eye for the telling points in a law suit, and battles doubtful and uncertain claims with all the ingenuity and perseverance which his long training supplies. He does not harbour dacoits, for that annoys respectable people and alarms his good tenants, but he has fought his way into complete possession of two or three villages where he had no rights whatever, by two affrays, a dozen minor affairs, some hundreds of petitions in every imaginable Court in the country, and the employment of professional clubmen in numbers from 'down easters' and 'brown foresters,' to Brahmins and men from Oude. His manners are rather prepossessing: his language and address good: and to listen to him, you would take him to be an energetic landholder in the midst of an adverse population of obstructive middlemen, and of impracticable Europeans, doing nothing beyond battling in fair play for his rights. As to any relinquishment of rents to Ryots, who would only make a bad use of it, or to any improvement of agriculture by direct supervision, or to any more intimate personal knowledge of the Mofussil than what is subservient to his own aggrandizement, or as to any genial intercourse with his tenantry, such as we see in England and might have seen in the North West in a less degree, it is not conceivable that such ideas ever entered his head. He once shut up a *khat*, at some expense, though it was said that his object was as much to drown his neighbour's lands as to preserve his own; he has established one good school on his estates, as a concession to the spirit of the age, and last year, at the personal solicitation of the Magistrate, he gave 500 Rs. to the new Dispensary. On the whole he is a fair specimen, not of advanced enlightenment nor of profligate debauchery, but of the clever, cool, calculating, pertinacious and grasping spirit of Bengali nature, which rapidly discerns its own ends, and has few scruples about the means necessary for their attainment."

Of course all the above may be termed highly democratic and revolutionary. But no one will accuse us of wishing to undermine the Perpetual Settlement when we assert that, for all the evils which it may have retained or generated, and for all the good which it may have left undone, we have no wish, for a mo-



ment, to advocate any other system for the Lower Provinces. We have seen the rottenness of the Village System thoroughly exposed. We have not the faintest suspicion that the panacea for Bengal would be a direct settlement with a population of tenant proprietors. We are as ready to admit, as any member of the Bengal landholder's association can be, the sterling advantages which have emanated from the great measure of 1793: the light taxation, the accumulation of capital, the rapid spread of agriculture, the extension of commerce, the creation and conservance of a dozen interests in the land, independent of, but perfectly compatible with those of the Zemindar. But against the class interests and the selfishness cloaked under the guise of patriotism to which the Mutinies have given rise, we think it imperative to offer our decided protest, and when we have a body of wealthy men clamorous against any measure which shall reinstate the Ryot in the position which he ought never to have lost, and when we find their avowed organ coolly talking about the "uses of lattialism" as a domestic institution, and suggesting, with characteristic effrontery, that the remedy for Bengal is to withdraw the police altogether and hand the country over to the mercies of the Zemindars, we think it necessary to warn men, both here and at home, against that skin-deep civilisation, which imposes on us by language inflated indeed, though not unbecoming men if bred up in the atmosphere of liberty and constitutional privileges, but which, in reality, would enforce the maxims of Machiavel by the clubs and pikes of Captain Rock.

We now come to the last part of our subject, the proposal to convert Bengal Zemindarries into rent-free lands. This plan which hitherto has found comparatively few advocates, may be considered as regards the extent to which it will be adopted, and as to the effect which it may produce on other landed interests generally. As regards the first point we freely admit that Hindoo and Mahommedan have an insatiable longing to acquire a rent-free holding, however minute. The Legislature has already ratified the voice of the native public in this respect by declaring that, in estimating the value of property in litigation, lands which pay rent shall be valued at only three times the Sudder Jumma, while lands which are rent-free shall be valued at eighteen times the annual rent. This desire is so natural as to need little remark. When then it is proclaimed by Government that all Talookdars who desire it, may have the option of redeeming their lands, will there not be a rush of redemptors to every collectorate in Lower Bengal? The answer to this appears to us to be, that much will depend on the number of years' purchase which may be fixed, and that the small estates will most naturally be the first to be redeemed. We should hope that no

lands will be sold outright for less than 30 years' purchase, and that the proceeds of the sale will be forthwith applied to the part extinction of the public debt. Much also will depend on the power of individuals to pay down a good sum, and it strikes us that persons engaged in trade, service, or speculation, and possessing small talooks of half a village, or of one, two, or three villages in extent, will be the most likely persons to avail themselves of the boon. Men, whose *duties* require them to be absent in other districts or in Calcutta, and who must leave the payment of the revenue to crafty shareholders, or cunning agents, will at once recognise the advantage of terminating all doubts and anxieties. Our list has shown a vast proportion of the estates to be paying less than one hundred Rupees a year. A successful venture in timber or rice, in silk or indigo, a first rate date season, the pickings of a lucrative appointment under Planter, Zemindar, or Government, or the mere legitimate savings of honourable office, may place an absentee Talookdar in a position to defy the vicissitudes of climate, the combinations of Ryots, and the rascalities of Naibs and Mooktars. For 2,000 Rupees or so his portion may be freed for ever. Whether aged talookdars will like to hamper themselves for the sake of their posterity, or whether, where an estate is held jointly in many shares, it will be an easy matter for the shareholders to agree amongst themselves, is another question. But we should think that all independent small Talookdars, in easy circumstances, will strain every nerve to acquire a rent-free title, and that great Zemindars will at least redeem the few score or hundred beegals which surround their family residence. Possibly, half a century may elapse before the revenue of Bengal can be materially affected by the proposal, and we think it tolerably clear that it will be some time before a Zemindar, with a large rent-roll which he manages to get through every year, will be enabled to redeem the estate almost co-extensive with an extensive Pergunnah, which was merely a small part of a prosperous chukla, which was formerly included in a well known Sircar in the good old days of the Nawabs of Moorshedabad and Dacca.

With regard to other changes which the redemption of lands may produce, sundry erroneous impressions appear to us to have gained ground. It has been assumed that litigation will sensibly decrease, that rents will be got in on redeemed lands without any difficulty, and that there will be no such things as contests for boundaries or squabbles concerning under-tenures. It has also been surmised that small tenants may redeem their own holdings and thus inundate Bengal with a breed of petty proprietors, the very last men in the world to expend capital on improvements. Now, admitting that the rate of rent paid by

cultivators of lands held rent-free by proprietors at this moment, is somewhat lower than the rent of Zemindarry lands, we do not think it probable that because a Talookdar has freed himself from the payment of revenue, he will consequently lower the rents of his Ryots. We may depend on it that in nineteen cases out of twenty, he will exact them as punctually as ever. There will certainly be wanting the pressure from above and the fear of losing his estate by sale, but what guarantee have we that seasons will be more favourable, crops more abundant, or Ryots more ready to pay than before? Do we never hear now of suits brought by rent-free holders, or attachments made, for the realisation of their dues? Again, incumbrances on the land, as we read the proposal, will not be avoided by redemption: existing rights must be carefully respected: nothing will vanish, except the Government demand. Nor is the proposal for redemption to be open to all parties, as we read it. There will be no race between Zemindar and Putnidar, Middleman or Ryot. An individual with 'vested rights' will not even have the chance of purchasing, which he now and then may have under the present sale law. The landholder will not be merely offered a right of *pre-emption*. He will be told, we take it, that it rests with himself to redeem the land tax, and with no one else. A substantial, resident, hereditary tenant proprietor, will obtain no hearing, unless his name can be entered, by conveyance or otherwise, on the books of the collectorate. We may cast aside all fear of an invasion of mere petty yeomen without either the power to accumulate, or the intelligence to expend, money. We shall still have to keep open our tribunals for the speedy adjustment of claims to rent, for summary redress to ejected individuals, for division, inheritance, re-entry, and the like. A man with a redeemed estate, may still, in defiance of Survey and Settlement, endeavour to make its area as large as he can. A Zemindar in difficulties or incapable of attention to business, may still find it convenient to give a planter or neighbour a seven years' lease of his *lakhiraj* lands. A new incumbrance may be actually created, in virtue of a bonus. Jheels and marshes will as hitherto be gradually covered with a fertilising deposit: the level of low land will rise: the abrasion of one *chur* and the accretion of another, will proceed as hitherto, the old causes of stock disputes will be as numerous as ever, and if lands acquire a new value, this, of itself, will give a new impulse to litigation. The wealthy Bengali will still find in law suits and stamped papers that source of excitement which men of colder climates seek for in field sports, in travelling, or in the arena of politics. We no more believe that the proposed sale of Bengal will create a revolution in the Collectorates, than we can believe that a proposal to alter

the mere forms of judicial adjuration can turn a Mofussil Cutcherry into a Court worthy of the Republic of Plato.

That good will result from the proposed redemption we have little doubt. Uncertainty and dread may be removed from the minds of small Talookdars. As large Zemindarries become subdivided, there may be a chance for their eventual redemption. The value of lands actually redeemed will indefinitely increase. The attachment of rent-free proprietors to the British Government will acquire a depth and permanence, which may efface the recollection of past resumptions, and which neither rumours nor risings will ever effectually shake. Even if large capital be not immediately expended on local improvements, the springs of commerce, the sources of trade, the engines for speculation, will feel a new motive power. Men, with rent-free lands, will travel, will take service, with a quiet conscience. Men who have made money in honourable or lucrative employments, will end their career by the purchase of the great object of a native's ambition, a rent free estate.

Fully aware of the difficulty which surrounds important questions relative to rent, revenue, and landed interests, as well as of the divers theories which, at all stages of our Indian administration, have been broached concerning them, and very unwilling to lay down any dogma on a subject to which we have devoted considerable attention, we have endeavoured to discuss the position of different individuals, with reference to facts, customs, and Statute Law. A good discussion, in which all sides may be fairly represented, is our sole object. The prosperity of a great Empire, obviously, as much depends on the cohesion and permanence of agricultural interests, as on the extension of commerce and manufactures. The plough deserves as much consideration as the shuttle: rice and indigo are not second in importance to madapollams and to mule twist. This *Review*, whilst earnestly advocating the cause of the Ryot and the small proprietor, has never for a moment countenanced any proposal to subvert the Perpetual Settlement, nor do we wish to see an army of crack Collectors let loose on a lightly taxed district, to cancel engagements, to redress inequalities, and to knock off, dexterously, the heads of every poppy that towers above its fellows. The Cornwallis Settlement, with all its omissions, has laid the foundations of social prosperity with greater depth and solidity than any other mode by which the land tax of India, as yet, is gathered in for the State. Allowances may even be made for the temptations incident to the faulty education and the position of the Zemindar of Bengal. But he should act more and talk less. We are ready to concede, however, that even lip loyalty, in the late Mutinies, was worth a regiment or two: that no one serious-

ly expected Bengalees personally to recruit our irregular levies, and that while everywhere the mutinous and the disaffected met with no countenance or support from the native gentry, in several instances, the Government actually derived from the same parties abundance of carriage and supplies.

In a future number we may perhaps give some further details as to the field agriculture and the garden cultivation of those persons whom we have endeavoured to indicate as the actual owners of the soil. Classical readers will readily recall a graceful passage in the most exquisitely finished poem which antiquity has handed down to us, where the didactic poet calls up a contented old man, who had turned a sterile spot into a thriving garden, covered it with herbs and flowers, colonised it with the murmuring bees, and lived on its unbought produce, as proud and as happy as a King. We fear that in spite of fertile soil, favouring seasons, and benevolent Governments, it may be some time before a native pastoral poet shall present us with a similar picture of a Bengali small proprietor, though the Lower Ganges may show crops which surpass the cultivation of Tarentum, and rivers which roll on a flood far more fertilising than the clear and deep, though dark, waters of the Galæsus. But we do not despair of the future of Bengal. We may leave untouched every positive right or every lawful privilege which the Zemindars can claim, and by means of railroads, schools, accessible functionaries, strict laws, and cheaper Courts, cause commerce and agriculture to go hand in hand in advancement, and we may cover our huge plains with a race of wealthy landlords and an improving tenantry, without setting labour against privilege, poverty against ownership, and each class in native society against its immediate superior.

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ART. IV.—*Sabda Kalpadrum*. BY RAJAH RADHAKANT BAHADUR. Vol. V. *Article, Caste. Calcutta*. 1766.

“HAVING incidentally mentioned the barber, in a comparison of professional temperaments, I hope no other trade will take offence, or look upon it as an incivility done to them, if I say, that in courtesy, humanity, and all the conversational and social graces which “gladden life,” I esteem no profession comparable to his. Indeed so great is the good-will which I bear to this useful and agreeable body of men, that, residing in one of the Inns of Court (where the best specimens of them are to be found, except perhaps at the Universities) there are seven of them to whom I am personally known, and who never pass me without the compliment of the hat on either side.” So said the witty Charles Lamb of the English barber, and so say we of his brother of the craft in Bengal. And indeed “so great is the good-will which we bear to this useful and agreeable body of men,” that we have deemed it but just and proper to devote one whole Article to the delineation of their manifold virtues.

Our readers will have no difficulty in recognizing a Bengali barber. In the Mofussil any person that is the owner of a merry face, and has, at the same time, a small bag under his arm, may be taken for one. In the “City of Palaces,” his accompaniments are more marked. Besides the bag containing the implements of his humble but useful trade, the metropolitan barber has a turban covering his head, which circumstance at once places him on a level with the members of native *Keranidom*. He has, moreover, a few of his sharp-pointed utensils located in the regions bordering his auditory canal. It is proper, however, to observe that every barber of Calcutta is not dignified with a turban. That graceful appendage is worn only by the thriving members of the fraternity. But whether turbanned or not, he has a merry heart. From the time that he squats down on the floor on all-fours, opens his bag and sharpens his tools, to the moment when Joseph Rodgers and Sons give their finishing touch, how delightfully do the minutes glide away! What stores of curious information! What spicy anecdotes rarely told! What peals of care-destroying laughter! What delicious gossip!

All Bengali barbers are said to be descended from *Hárodás*. The birth of this primitive barber, the father of all such as handle the razor and the strop, is enveloped in the mists of mythology. Mahádevá, the third person of the Hindu Triad, and the originator of all the arts and sciences, produced the first barber of the world from the garland of bones which encircles his divine neck. Hence the name *Hárodás*, or the servant that

is created from bones. The Bengali barber is an influential member of the Hindu community. In the pyramid of caste he occupies a higher position than the millionaire *Mulliks* of Calcutta. He belongs to the social section usually termed *Naba-Sákhás*—a section inferior only to Brahmans and Kayastas, while the *Mulliks* occupy a position considerably below, indeed very near the base of the social edifice. A Brahman of the right orthodox stamp drinks a cup of water offered him by a barber, while he turns away with disgust from water polluted by the touch of a *Mullik*. Brahmans and Kayastas smoke freely in the company of a barber, while they empty their *hookahs* of water if a *Mullik* happens to touch the mat on which they are seated. A *Mullik* is not dignified enough to have the privilege of serving a Brahman, while a barber's services are thankfully accepted.

Not unlike Brahmans, barbers in Bengal are arranged under two great classes. *Bárendra* and *Rárhí*. The *Bárendra* barbers inhabit chiefly the district of Rájshaye and other places lying on the North and East of the Ganges; while the *Rárhí* barbers dwell in the regions to the West of the same sacred river. It is superfluous to remark that there exists no social intercourse between these two classes of barbers. Though both the classes are descended from *Hárodás*, they trace their immediate ancestry to two of his sons who, leaving their paternal thatch, took up their abode and scattered the blessings of the *Kouriahotic* art in benighted *Bárendra* and rude *Rárhí*. A *Bárendra* barber may not partake of the "pipe of peace" of his *Rárhí* brother; a *Rárhí* barber never takes the hand of a *Bárendra* bride. Nor is the element of *Kulinism* wanting in the ranks of the barbers. Though forbidden to be polygamous, a privilege confined to the sacerdotal class only, a Kulin barber, dignified with the appellation of a *Prámánik* properly so called, has his peculiar privileges. When he graciously condescends to get married to a girl of an inferior rank, a bribe is offered him. At a feast he occupies the highest seat, and has the largest quantity of its delectables. He exalts, he degrades, whomsoever he chooses. He excommunicates a refractory barber from the rights and privileges of the trade; he hugs to his bosom the offending brother when penitent. His presence gives validity to a marriage contract, and imparts solemnity to a funeral service. He is the patriarch of the fraternity to which he belongs.

Hindu confectioners or *madaks* are often represented to be a sort of barbers, as they pass under the name of *madhu-nâpitas* or honey-barbers. They are called honey-barbers because, though as confectioners they have to deal with all sorts of sweet things of which honey may be taken as the type, their great

ancestor in times of yore once discharged the office of a barber. The story is as follows;—Bhagabati, the wife of Māhādevā, agreeably to the custom of purification observed by Hindu women, at the period of her first menstruation, stood under the necessity of the kindly offices of the barber to scratch the nails of her fingers and toes. She requested her divine lover to procure a barber for the purpose. The harum-scarum deity, reeking with the fumes of *bhang*, forgot his wife's request in the company of his bacchanalian crew. In the meantime Bhagabati became impatient. The sun had climbed his highest, and yet Bhagabati had not bathed; she could not do so unless the nails of her fingers and toes were scratched. In a melancholy mood she hastened to a neighbouring stream, and as she stood in the water not knowing where to get a barber, she ordered a bubble which went floating by to be transformed into a barber. *Bimbadas*, or the bubble-born, not having barber's implements within reach, caught hold of a cockle-shell, and with it pared off the nails of the goddess. Hence Hindu confectioners, the descendants of *Bimbadas*, have obtained the mellifluous name of *madhu-napitas*.

Who that has had the misfortune of groaning under an unshaven chin, but must have blessed in his heart of hearts that great benefactor who first taught the human race the art of shaving? And yet we venture to assert, without fear of contradiction, that the Bengali barber goes through a larger amount of work than his fellow-craftsman in any other part of the world. Your English barber of the nineteenth century only shaves the chin, and crops the hair of the head. But mark the ponderous labour of his Bengali brother. The Bengali barber, before commencing operations, takes out his brass-cup and fills it with water. He then sits down on the floor and opens his razor-case wrapped up in a bit of rag which, ever since it was torn from its parent web, has not been submitted to the fuller's soap. The razor of his choice is next picked out, and along with it the whetstone and the primitive strop, which last is nothing more than a piece of common leather. A drop of water is poured on the whetstone, and the razor is moved backwards and forwards upon it. When the razor is ascertained to have attained a good temper, it is rubbed on the strop and allowed to rest on it. Meanwhile the great business commences. The barber puts his left hand on the crown of the head of his unfortunate victim; dips his right hand, often smelling of the "fragrant reed," in the brass-cup; and plies the water largely upon the cranium, the forehead, the cheeks, and the chin, rubbing them over and over till the parts are well soaked. This done, the razor is taken up, and a whole jungle of bushy hair is



cleared off. The nails of the fingers and toes are next moistened with water, and their bony appendices are neatly pared off, and the nails themselves nicely rubbed. All this is followed in some parts of the Mofussil by a regular shampooing of the legs, the hands, and the back. Nor is this all. The barber thrusts sharp-pointed utensils into the ears, and brings out of their depths any matter which may have accumulated there. •And yet for all this labour, and for all the anecdotes, the gossip, the information, the laughter, and “the agreeable discussions,” of which Lamb talks, that are going on every now and then,—for all these the worthy craftsman receives the scanty remuneration of only one *pie*.

The ancient Greek barber had his *Koureion*, the Roman his *Tonstrina*, and the English barber has his “Shop,” but the Bengali barber has no “local habitation” for the prosecution of his ponderous labours. He goes about from street to street, with no cry on his lips, and distinguishable in the crowd of his fellow men only by the bag under his arm, and often by the turban on his head. Unlike other men he paces the streets leisurly, looks at every door, glances at every window, and is always on the alert for a call. Immutable though the Hindu is often represented to be, he is yet not entirely unaffected by the march of intellect and the advance of civilization. Hence some Calcutta barbers, in imitation of their more polished European brethren, have begun to have, if not shops, at least, apologies for them. Half a dozen brethren of the strop may not unfrequently be seen sitting at the end of long street or the purlieus of a Bazar, and ridding pate after pate of their hairy overgrowth with lightning rapidity. During the Rains and in Midsummer an umbrella of the *Borassus Fabelliformis* or of the *Areca Catechu*, is often stuck into the ground to protect customers from the inclemencies of the weather.

No Bengali shaves himself, and yet he must shave, or else he ceases to be a ceremonially clean Hindu; hence a barber is a social necessity in Bengal. His presence, besides, is indispensably necessary to the performance of certain religious ceremonies. Hence every family in Bengal has its own barber, just as it has its own priest and its own spiritual director. And as the son of a spiritual director becomes the director of the son of his father's disciple, and the son of a priest becomes the priest of the son of him to whom his father ministered sacerdotally, so the son of a barber becomes the barber of the son of him whose beard his father shaved. Hence it may be easily imagined that one family of barbers may be immemorably attached to one Bengali house. In such a case the barber has a fixed annual salary. Poor families seldom give more than four annas a year to their family barber; the

middle classes seldom more than a Rupee; while rich men, Zemindars and Rajahs, present to their barber rent-free lands in perpetual settlement. Wretched as is the pay of a barber in Bengal, it is eked out by the perquisites he receives during the thousand and one celebrations of religious rites which occur in the annals of every Hindu family.

From time out of mind, in Bengal the barber has discharged the office of a surgeon. While the disciple of *Dhanyantari*—the Indian *Æsculapius*, contented himself with the preparing of pills and the practice of physic, the bold barber was alone initiated into the mysteries of surgical operations. The English doctor prescribes for fever as well as lances a boil. It is different in Bengal. The *kabiraj* cures the fever but does nothing for the boil. Surgery is not his *forte*. That is the barber's department. Hence even at this time of day when, in a village, a wound is to be probed, a boil to be lanced, a tumour to be reduced, a stone to be cut, or a blister to be applied, our brother of the razor is alone found competent for the task.

Births, marriages, and deaths are the three grand epochs in the histories of individual men, and in each of these seasons the barber acts no mean part. When a Hindu woman is about to be delivered of a child, the barber, in order to catch the intelligence first, hangs round about the lying-in room. No sooner is the child ushered into the world than the barber presents himself before the father of the new-born babe, and gives him the intelligence. On such an occasion, especially in the case of a first-born male child, the father handsomely rewards the barber. Besides pecuniary donations, the rejoicing father not unfrequently presents the messenger with the suit of clothes which he happens at the moment to have on. But this is not the only gain of the barber. He runs with the intelligence to the relatives, friends and acquaintances of the father, all of whom make presents to the messenger according to their condition in life, and to the proximity of relationship in which they stand to the new-born babe. The perquisites which a barber, attached to a rich family, gets, are often considerable. Besides money, in the cold season he is rewarded with blankets, broad-cloth, and shawls. The poorest peasant that ever handled the plough over the paddy fields of Bengal, on the birth of his first-born child, gives some reward to the messenger fraught with the gladsome news. On the fifth and twenty-first days after delivery, agreeably to the laws of Hindu purification, the nails of the finger of the mother must be scratched; hence the services of the barber's wife are had in requisition.

In the celebration of Bengali marriages the barber plays a conspicuous part. The active interference of the *Ghatak* or the

genealogy-monger is not more necessary to the discovery of either a blooming bride or a wealthy bridegroom, and to the drawing up of the marriage contract; the presence of a priest is not more necessary to make the sweet tie binding, than the humbler ministry of the barber to the consummation of the rites of Hymen. Under-servant of *Madan*—the Indian god of love, the barber does a great deal more than his senior brethren. With a light heart and a cheerful countenance he goes about whistling, and gives to friends and relatives timely notice of the approaching solemnity. The marriage oil and turmeric, without which no Bengali marriage can be celebrated, and with an infusion of the latter of which articles the parties about to be united, as well as their rejoicing friends, profusely rub their bodies and stain their clothes, the barber carries to neighbouring families. Who that has lived in a Bengali house a few days immediately before a wedding, and has witnessed the incessant noise, the agreeable confusion, the delicious disorder reigning everywhere, but must have marked the important part played by our brother of the razor? He runs about from one apartment to another, answers every call, and gives animation to each scene. His is the loudest laugh, and his the merriest joke. On the wedding-day, and a few hours before the solemn celebration, the barber takes out his best razor and shaves the fore-head of the rejoicing bridegroom. Nor is the barber's wife unemployed on so interesting an occasion. She gently scratches the nails of the fingers of the gay bride, takes the superfluous brawn of the soles of her feet, rubs them with burnt brick, and points them with lac. While these operations go on, what blessings do not both the barber and his wife pour on the heads of the bride and the bridegroom? To the latter the barber eulogizes the charms of the girl about to be his, expatiating, with an eloquence which practised orators might envy, on her gazelle-like eyes, her vermilion lips, her elephant-like gait, and her slender frame, while to the former the barber's wife holds out the prospect of heaps of gold, baskets full of ornaments, sons as handsome as *Kirtik*—the Indian god of war, and daughters beautiful as the *Apsaras* of Indra's heaven. The nuptial shaving over, the barber and his wife diligently busy themselves with dressing the bride and the bridegroom and decking them with golden ornaments, and rend the air with the marital exclamations of "Ooloo! Ooloo! Ooloo!" And in the eventful hour when the solemn priest goes through the marriage-service, and joins the hands of the happy pair, the barber stands at their elbow as their guardian angel. It is hardly necessary to remark that for all these delightful services the barber is handsomely rewarded.

Nor are the ministrations of the barber of less importance in the season of death. His services are indispensably necessary

to the celebration of rites which follow either ten, fifteen, or thirty days after cremation, according as the deceased was a Brahman, a Vaidya, or a Sudra. When mourning, Hindus do not change their clothes, do not partake of the dainties of the table, neither do they shave. On the 10th, the 15th, or the 30th day, as the case may be, the near relatives—the kith and kin of the deceased, assemble themselves together, and call for the services of the barber who, on such occasions, is rewarded with clothes, brass-pots, and money. Thus is the barber a ministering spirit in the critical seasons of birth, death, and marriage. What Hermes was in the Greek Pantheon, what Mercury was among the gods of Pagan Rome, what *Narad* is to the immortals of Indra's heaven, that is a barber to Bengalees. Like Ahimaaz, the son of Zadok, the Bengali barber is a “good man and cometh with good tidings.” Is a ceremony to be performed in a village? Is an invitation to be given to a feast? Is a child born? Is a marriage to be solemnized? On such occasions who carries the news but our swift-footed, clear-headed and light-hearted brother of the strop? Happy men! to carry about only glad tidings to the children of men, to announce to rejoicing fathers the birth of new-born babes, to add hilarity to marriage festivity, to put an end to the lamentations of sorrowing and bereaved relatives, and thus to scatter sun-shine on the path of life!

The Bengali barber has a merry heart. He talks everlastingly, discoursing on all possible subjects, glancing from earth to heaven and from heaven back to earth, but delighting chiefly in gossip, revealing the secrets of the Zenana, and pouring sweet scandal into the ear of malignity;—on such matters he would talk on to the end of the chapter unless stopped by the necessities of his profession. His anecdotes, of which he has a plentiful store, of things new and old, he relates with a *naïveté* truly refreshing. His jokes—and he is full of them—are none of the Joe Miller kind, stiff, unnatural, cold: but fresh, lively and piquant. His laugh is not of the sardonic kind, consisting of a show of the teeth, a raising of the upper lip, and a wink of the eye, neither is it what a Bengali calls a *wooden* laugh, only lip-deep; but it is the loud, clear, sonorous, silvery guffaw of jolliest mirth. In a word the Bengali barber, like the nymph in L'Allegro, brings with him, wherever he goes,

“Jest, and youthful jollity,  
Quips, and cranks, and wanton wiles,  
Nods, and becks, and wreathed smiles,  
Such as hang on Hebe's cheek,  
And love to live in dimple sleek;  
Sport that wrinkled care derides,  
And Laughter holding both his sides.”

The shrewdness of the barber has passed into a proverb. Whether it be that the sharpness of the tools he uses for the prosecution of his humble trade has produced a corresponding sharpness of his mental powers, or that his professional contemplation and manipulation of the cranium—the seat of the brain, and of the “human face divine,” have quickened his intellectual perceptions, whether the one or the other or both be the cause—and we leave the matter to be decided by abler heads than ourselves—certain it is that a barber is a most intelligent being. The “cunning barber” is a household phrase in Bengal. Cunning or *canning* (from *can*) as Carlyle often tells us, is indicative of mental power. Says the homely adage, “the crow ‘is not more decidedly the most cunning of birds, the jackal of ‘quadrupeds, and Narad of gods, than the barber of rational ‘bipeds.” In this respect the barber is said to present a striking contrast to the weaver. Our friend of the shuttle, says venerable tradition, puts his hands round a post, fills them with fried rice, and does not know how to take his hands back except by removing the post. He sees a field covered with the *Saccharum Cylindricum*, and, mistaking it for a field covered with water, attempts to swim, and comes home with a bleeding body. Our brother of the razor is no such simpleton. He passes a shuttle where a pin refuses to enter, drives a camel where there is not room enough for a needle to pass through, makes anything of anything, and is, without all controversy, the cleverest animal that ever walked on two legs.

The barber’s wife, who, in other countries, is quite a sine-curist, exercises no less influence in the parliament of women than her husband in the assemblies of men. We have already enumerated the services she renders to humanity. She pares off the accumulations of osseous matter on the nails of the fingers and toes of the ladies of Bengal, takes off the fleshy over-growth on the soles of their feet, and gives them the red paint. On such occasions, she is as eloquent, (we should rather say ten times more eloquent,—for what lady ever yielded in fluency of speech to the other sex?) as anecdotal, as jocose, as facetious as her husband. When pursuing her gentle avocations what jokes does she crack! What savage criticism does she make on the personal deformities of the betrothed of some throbbing maiden! What glowing eulogies of the corporeal graces of the husbands of the ladies she serves! What revelations of the nocturnal broils of ill-matched couples! She is the ladies’ maid of honour, the ladies’ surgeon, the ladies’ messenger, the ladies’ gazette.

We know not how it is, but it is a simple fact—and we leave the matter to be explained by professed ethnologists—

that the barber so universally liked by Bengalees for "courtesy, humanity, and all the conversational and social graces which gladden life," is thoroughly detested by Ooriya Palki bearers. Whether it is that a barber is looked upon as a sort of scavenger of humanity, or that his universally admitted cleverness is a sort of reproach to the proverbially stupid Ooriya bearer, it is a simple fact that the worthy gentlemen who bear us about on their shoulders will, for no inducement whatever, touch a Palki with a barber in it. No doubt with the progress of liberalism and the decline of orthodoxy which characterize this free-thinking age of ours, Ooriya bearers may possibly be found here and there, for high pecuniary consideration, to break through the time-honoured prejudice; but we are certain no orthodox bearers of the right *Jajapura* class will ever do it. Like Charles Lamb we ourselves are rejoiced in the acquaintance of a "truly polite and urbane friend" of the barber-caste, though not in the trade. And it amused us not a little to hear our friend often say that he could never get a Palki for hire near his own house, for all the Ooriya bearers knew that he was of the barber-caste. Whenever he wanted a Palki he had to walk a great distance from his house, and engage bearers who remained in blissful ignorance as to his caste. The oil-man and the washerman share with the barber the Ooriya bearers' contempt.

It is not a little remarkable that the members of the trade whose manifold virtues we have thus attempted very briefly to delineate, have never risen to distinction in Bengal. While the proverbially dull weaver and the socially degraded banker have, in a hundred instances, risen superior to their natural stupidity and social degradation, the barber, though possessed of quick parts and holding no mean position in the fabric of caste, has never distinguished himself from the rest of his countrymen. In England a barber invented the spinning jenny and was created a baronet, and the son of a barber not long since graced the woolsack. In Bengal, however, a barber is always a barber to the end of the chapter. The reason of this is very likely to be found in the scantiness of the remuneration he obtains in the prosecution of his humble calling, and the little facilities it affords for the accumulation of wealth. But what matters it after all that the barber has never risen to celebrity? It is sufficient for him that he has the hearty goodwill of mankind, that he alleviates their sorrows, and that he scatters cheerfulness wherever he goes. Long may he pursue his useful avocations, long may he "gladden life by his conversational and social graces."

- ART. V.—1. *Standing Orders of the Department of Public Works; compiled under the authority of the Most Noble the Marquis of Dalhousie, Governor General of India, in concert with the Military Board, by LIEUTENANT COLONEL J. T. BOILEAU, Superintending Engineer, North Western Provinces. Roorkee. 1852.*
2. *Code of Regulations for the Public Works Department under the Local Governments of Bengal, the North West Provinces, and the Punjaub, and for the Minor Administrations under the direct control of the Government of India. Published by authority. Calcutta. 1858.*

ONE of the first improvements that may be expected to follow the assumption by the Crown of the direct Government of India, is a more vigorous prosecution of public works. The favourite agency for this seems at present to be the establishment of private guaranteed Companies; but however rapidly these may increase, there must still for many years be left abundant room for the direct action of Government, even supposing that this is confined to works of necessity, and that the financial advantages to be gained by augmenting the otherwise inelastic revenues, through the Government itself undertaking the chief execution of works of a remunerative character, are not perceived, and adopted. At any rate the "Public Works Department" already includes an enormous number of officials, and if it be not extended, it certainly is not likely to be diminished. Its influence on the general improvement of the country must be very considerable, and it becomes therefore of great importance that its constitution should be of the most economical kind, and its machinery as efficient as possible. Of late years its organisation has undergone many alterations, and many more are in contemplation, so that the present time is opportune for discussing its merits. This we propose to do briefly in the following pages, pointing out what we conceive to be still defective in existing arrangements, and what should be the remedies.

To comprehend thoroughly the present state of its organisation it will be necessary to note the different changes through which the department has passed, from its first formation to the present time, and to distinguish clearly between those changes in its economy which have arisen naturally in the course of things, and those which have been advisedly made from time to time with a view to its improvement. This distinction, if kept clearly in view, will be of much service in our enquiry, as we shall find that what is defective at present is generally a class of causes;

and this being so, it will be sufficient to shew the defects to afford the presumption that they should be removed. While with those parts of the machine which do not work well, but which have been introduced *as* reforms, a more careful procedure becomes necessary; it will be incumbent on the reformer in such cases, not only to expose the defects, but to offer a remedy.

The first thing, then, to be noticed is, that Public Works in their proper sense may be said to have had no place in India till within the last ten years. The department dignified by that name was in truth merely engaged in the conservancy of the various Government buildings, Military and Civil, scattered over the country, and which are only *public* works in the sense of not being *private* ones. A few roads had certainly been constructed here and there, but in a desultory unsystematic way, and almost entirely as Military undertakings. They were generally commenced, indeed, in the first instance by the Quarter-Master General's department, and were first avowedly made over to the Public Works Department in 1825. The embankments in Bengal form no exception to our rule, since they were held to be of a strictly conservative character, not a means for augmenting the Government revenues, but for maintaining them at their level, and they had been in use before we took possession of the country.\* The title of "Public Works Department" was therefore a misnomer. It was in fact one of the Military establishments of the Government, its officers being chiefly employed in the conservancy of Military buildings, and works connected with them, and having also the care of the Civil buildings in their respective neighbourhood as an economical arrangement. And accordingly, even as late as 1854, when the principle of public works had come to be largely recognised, and the Civil element had been largely introduced among the officers of the department, this Military organization still existed, and its proceedings were all conducted through the Military branch of the Secretariat.

The first public work in the proper sense of the term, was the great Ganges Canal, which was fairly commenced in 1848, and from this year may also be dated the introduction of Civil Officers into the department, a measure which has greatly improved its organization, and has proved a great advantage to the service of the State. Close upon the Ganges Canal followed the inauguration of a liberal scheme for public works in the Punjab (upon the annexation of that country), the good effects of which reflected upon the whole of the Bengal Presidency. Then

\* A canal department was certainly established in the North West as early as 1820, and with a view to benefiting the people of the country, and augmenting the revenue, but its operations were chiefly confined, until the Ganges Canal was undertaken, to *restoring* and *improving* existing works of irrigation.



followed the annexation of Pegu in 1853, when the physical improvement of that country engaged the keenest consideration of the Governor General, Lord Dalhousie, and with the happiest results. From this time the material progress of India has largely occupied the attention of the Indian Government both here and at home, and the prosecution of public works, in their proper sense, has become a recognised part of the duty of the State.

In connection with this amended state of things, a thorough reform in the agency for conducting these works became obviously necessary, and has been prosecuted steadily from 1854 to the present time. The first and radical change was the extinction of the Military Board, which was the managing head of the department, its organization as a professional and Civil branch of the service, and the creation of a separate bureau for public works at the seat of Government. These changes bring us nearly to the present state of things, but before enquiring into this state, we must glance briefly back upon the old constitution, the leaven of which still largely pervades it.

The Military Board, which was the controlling authority over all Public Works, was originally constituted to manage the different Financial Departments of the Army, of which the construction and conservancy of Military buildings was one. It was usually formed of four or five Members, who were the heads respectively of the Departments over which the Board presided, but who had no control, otherwise than in their capacity as Members, over their own branches of the service. The Chief Engineer was always liable to be overruled on any engineering question by the united opinions of the Commissary General and the Commandant of Artillery, and the others were similarly placed with regard to their departments. Moreover, the Board had been originally established to audit and *check* expenditure, and all its traditions referred to economy and reduction rather than outlay, so that any thing like a judicious expenditure for future returns was opposed to its principles. In addition to its vicious constitution the Board was further ineffective from being overloaded with work. It provided the same machinery for conducting the enormous duties of the Empire in 1854 that it possessed in 1800, and further, its position in a corner of the presidency made the necessary references from the officers subordinate to it excessively tedious and protracted.

Under the Board came the Superintending Engineers, generally senior officers of the Engineer Corps, whose titles sufficiently describe their duties. These officers had nothing to do with the expenditure or accounting of money, and could thus give their undivided attention to their Engineering duties pro-

per, and they should have formed the most efficient part of the system. There were however too few of them, there were only seven for the enormous Bengal Presidency, most of whom had enormous districts which they could with difficulty visit once a year; thus their superintendence became too often merely nominal, and themselves mere vehicles for correspondence.

The last link in the chain was the Executive Engineer. The circle of a Superintending Engineer was divided into a number of divisions, each under the charge of an Executive Engineer or officer. A division comprised a Military Cantonment, or a group of stations, or a line of road or canal, and in this division the Executive combined the duties of engineer, builder, surveyor, clerk of works and contractor, and accountant. It was his duty to prepare the designs and estimates for all works required to be executed in his division, and on their being sanctioned, to construct them, having first in most cases, and except in the immediate neighbourhood of the Presidency, to prepare the necessary materials with his own establishment. He had also to keep the accounts of all expenditure, for the whole of which he was personally responsible, in a very detailed and complicated form, and until the account of each work was rendered by way of a bill drawn on the Government, and this Bill was passed by the Military Board, (which was never done unless it tallied satisfactorily with the estimate, not only in regard to the total sum, but with the different parts of the estimate, item per item,) the whole of the money advanced to him remained at his personal debit. The Executive Engineer had occasionally the services of one or more Assistants if his charge was very extensive, but for the heavy and complicated accounts, which too often formed the most burdensome portion of his work, he had no better help than could be derived from ignorant ill-trained clerks. The executive officers were either appointed from the Corps of Engineers or from the Artillery and Line. It was repeatedly ordered by the Home Government that the duties of the department should be confined as much as possible to the former, but as there have never been for the last forty years enough engineers to fill the appointments, these instructions have of necessity been disregarded, and indeed latterly the engineers formed only a minority in the Department. Of the line officers employed to make good the deficiency, some were regularly trained to their duties, entering the department when young as assistants and rising gradually to more important posts as they became fit for them; some excellent practical engineers have been trained in this way, but frequently men of no experience or professional knowledge were put at once into importance charges, sometimes from pressure of circum-

stances, and the want of qualified men, more often of course from their having interest.

The faultiness of such a system is made sufficiently clear by observing that it is the very last which any one creating a *new* department would ever think of establishing, but its defects were chiefly the growth of time, or rather the progress of the age had left it behind. No one in the present day would dream of proposing to entrust the management of a vast scientific department to a board of gentlemen whose only qualifications were respectability and age, but when the Military Board was established, Boards were the favorite vehicles of Government for every thing. So also, the tendency in the present day is to require a special training for almost every employment, and the pursuit of an engineer is particularly held, everywhere but in India, to require in those who follow it a regular professional education, and the undivided attention of a lifetime to gain aptitude in it. But at the end of the last century, there was no such recognised profession as the engineer's; engineering works were comparatively of a very simple kind, and were generally executed in an empirical hap-hazard fashion by those whom chance threw in the way of doing them. A few distinguished men there were, such as Smeaton, who might really claim to be called engineers, but generally the engineer or land-surveyor had little scientific knowledge or experience to distinguish him from any other class of men. It is not surprising, therefore, that similar pursuits should not be held in greater respect in India, particularly as the engineering works constructed here were generally of a very simple character.

But by far the greatest inconvenience of the system we have sketched arose, not from its machinery being defective in its working, but from its conservative anti-progressional tendencies. The Military Board being originally created to watch and control the expenditure of public money, and to check extravagance and unnecessary outlay of the departments subordinate to it, its traditional policy was to retrench and stop expenditure, and this still continued to be its *duty* towards every other branch of the service. It was not unnatural, therefore, that it should exercise a similar feeling towards the Public Works Department. Certainly its method of procedure was entirely in consonance with the existence of such a feeling, and all proposals for improvement were only carried through the Board by dint of pressure from without. Lastly, while the Board remained stationary the Empire had vastly increased, and the mere circumstance that every reference had to be made from local Governments in all parts of the Presidency to a Board in Calcutta, was pro-

ductive of most hurtful delay, independent of the vicious principles on which that Board was organised.

But a nuisance is often tolerated because no one sees the way to remove it, and the Board might have flourished to this day, had not experience in the Punjaub\*shewn how well it could be done without. The Board of Administration received authority, on the annexation of that province, to undertake the construction of their own Civil Works, and a large expenditure was sanctioned for the purpose. The Punjaub Government undertook the duty in a thoroughly liberal and enlightened spirit, and having fortunately entrusted the execution of their designs to an engineer of enlarged views and rare energy, the result far exceeded anything what had ever before been seen in India; in four or five years the Punjaub, in material progress, had already outstripped Bengal, our oldest possession, and bade fair to overtake the North West Provinces. This shewed what could be done when the tedious routine of the Board system was removed and a proper professional organisation substituted. The other subordinate governments became eager for similar independence, and a Commission was appointed by Lord Dalhousie to prepare a scheme for the reorganisation of the Public Works system. This Commission, which consisted of Mr. Charles Allen of the Civil Service, Major Kennedy, formerly of the Royal Engineers, and Consulting Engineer to the Government of India, and Major Baker of the Bengal Engineers, sat in 1851, and presented their report in the latter end of that year.

The substance of that report is much what we have stated. It pointed out how completely the requirements of the empire had out-grown the controlling power of any one man or body of men, it enlarged on the anomaly of entrusting the superintendence of a purely scientific duty to a body of unprofessional men who, as a rule, would be wholly unable to judge rightly of the merits of the questions that came before them, and it particularly condemned the complicated system of accounts in force, and the false economy of working that system by the Executive Engineers, whose attention was distracted from their proper duties by their overwhelming office work as Accountants, a duty which, the report observed, they were not trained to perform, and which would be better done by a separate and less highly paid class of men. These were the three main defects commented on by the Commissioners. To remedy them, they proposed two radical changes. First, the removal of the control over Public Works from the Military Board, and the appointment of a Chief Engineer for each province in the Presidency. By this arrangement the business which overwhelmed the Board would be distributed among several different offices, and professional experience would

be brought to the aid of the Government, which it wanted at present. Secondly, they recommended the appointment of a professional accountant to every executive office, to relieve the engineer of the drudgery of accounts and set him free for his proper engineering duties. The Commissioners did not offer any detailed proposals for a system of accounts, but confined themselves to a few obvious suggestions for simplifying the procedure. They probably felt that though the engineers might be relieved in details, the accounts would still be best made up in the office where the money was disbursed, or at any rate that radical changes of this kind in a vast Department should be made with great caution, and would require more time and space to effect than they could give.

These recommendations were warmly supported by the Governor General, and sanctioned by the Court of Directors. They were carried into effect in 1854, or rather we should say, a modified form of them was adopted, for between the publication of the report and its adoption, a change of views seems to have taken place in those who were entrusted with the reorganisation, and the department in its present form, which we now propose to examine, differs a good deal from the ideal recommended by the Commission.

And first with regard to the Chief Engineer. A fatal error, and one which the exercise of a very little knowledge of human nature should have prevented, was made at the outset. Instead of making him the confidential adviser of the local governor in the business of his own department, reporting direct to him and taking his orders direct from him, he is forced to communicate through the Secretary of the local Government. We fail to perceive the smallest advantage to be obtained from this arrangement, while the disadvantages are obvious. Either the Secretary must consent to be a mere medium of communication, giving no opinions, and using no influence one way or the other, and such a Secretary no mortal man will ever make, or he will have opinions of his own, and will try to enforce them. In a difference of opinion between the Chief-Engineer and the Secretary on a professional question, the presumption is in favor of the former being right; but the latter has the best chance of carrying his point. Thus instead of being *en rapport* with his Lieutenant Governor and enjoying his confidence, the Chief Engineer and the local government have too often been found in a state of chronic antagonism, the former being constantly put, as it were, on his defence to justify every thing he does. That this state of things has operated very injuriously on the working of the new system, no one who has watched it can doubt. All this antagonism and the sore-

ness so apt to be engendered and so hard to avoid in any long continued official correspondence between two departments, would be avoided by placing the Chief Engineer in direct communication with Government, and making him virtually its Secretary in his Department. Another great advantage of this arrangement would be a further saving of correspondence with the Supreme Government. At present the Chief Engineer reports to the Secretary of the Local Government, who generally forwards the report, with the opinion of that Government, to the Secretary to the Government of India in the Public Works Department. Since the amount of reference of this kind is very great, there would be a manifest saving of time and correspondence if the Chief Engineer were himself the vehicle of communication between the two Governments, and we are unable to see any corresponding disadvantage to be apprehended.

The second necessary improvement is to relieve the Chief Engineer from all matters of accounts. His present combination of duties is a relic of the old barbarous system. The Military Board which was primarily a Board of audit, came gradually to be the head professional authority in engineering, and from their long continuance in the performance of these duties, it seems at last to be thought that some peculiar necessity exists for combining the two functions in one, that the head engineering authority must also be the Auditor. But if the point be considered without prejudice by those who are practically conversant with the working of the machine, they will perceive that no *primâ facie* reason exists for making such an arrangement. On the contrary, the presumption is all the other way, now that the economy of division of employments is better understood. Therefore to bind down the Chief Engineer, who it is supposed is the fittest man for his post, with a mass of extraneous accounts which might be dealt with equally well by men of less acquirement and on smaller salaries, merely because the confessedly inefficient board was so constituted, is merely to bring into the reformed system some of the worst defects of the old. The Chief Engineer must undoubtedly have a *control* over the expenditure of his establishment, but there is not the smallest need to make him on that account the responsible accountant and book-keeper, which he *virtually* is at present. A separate and independent Auditor should be appointed for the accounts department, and the Chief Engineer's share of that part of the work confined at most to the issue of assignments to the Executive Engineers; he may then have sufficient leisure to devote to his proper duties as an Engineer, which he has never had yet. We can imagine that many objections will be made to our proposal, on the score of the danger to be apprehended from conflicting departments, but

we are persuaded that such a system may be framed to work far better than the present one; we shall notice the main point to be attended to when we come to the question of accounts.

The Chief Engineer, even when relieved of the accounts, will still have a large quantity of office business to work through. This is one great misfortune in many other departments as well as in this, that when a man has made himself valuable by his experience in the field, we put him at a desk, and never allow him to employ his practical knowledge again. Of course the head of any large department must have a great deal of correspondence to get through, and no system can be framed which will stop it, but it would be something gained if it were placed on record by authority, that the correspondence and office works are *not* the main object and end of a man's duty, as they are too often thought to be, but necessary evils; and that the Chief Engineer should make it his aim to occupy as far possible the relative position held by the leading Civil Engineers at home with reference to the work under their supervision, and to consider this part of his duties as more important than the routine of the bureau, which at present usually takes the place of everything else.

Associated with the Chief Engineer are the Superintending Engineers. We have already remarked that these officers are better placed than any others in the department. They have neither the overwhelming business of the chief nor the wearying accounts of the Executive Engineers, but their time is available for their proper functions as Engineers, to superintend the designing and execution of works in their circles. Unfortunately, their value is destroyed by the enormous extent of their circles which contain each from twelve to sixteen executive divisions, many of the latter being larger than an English county. Thus, if each executive writes one letter a day to the Superintending Engineer, a very moderate allowance, the latter has at once a fair day's work cut out for him in mere routine business, while he cannot possibly visit all his stations within the year. A building may be sanctioned, and built, and have tumbled down again, before the Superintending Engineer has time to inspect it. In point of fact there is no superintendence at present.

Formerly, Superintending Engineers lived at some central point of their circles, but in order to save loss of time in passing references from the Executive Engineers through them to the Chief Engineer, it was ordered on the reorganisation, that they should reside at the same station with the latter, and form a part of his office. Their duties were thus confined to "advising" the Chief Engineer on the points that came before them, but

all correspondence was *addressed* to the Chief Engineer; the Superintending Engineers had no authority but what they might acquire by force of character, and in fact they were too often mere cyphers, or vehicles for passing on correspondence. The defects of this arrangement were found so great that a reaction has set in the other way, and we understand it has lately been ordered that the Superintending Engineers are to live again in the centre of their circles, and to have specific powers of their own. Here again will arise the evil of too many channels of correspondence, delay in reference, and divided authority, while the main defect of the overgrown circles remains as before.

But it may be safely predicated that no administrative scheme will work well which starts with a *chief and two deputies*. If the latter have independent powers, and refer only difficult points to their head, there will not be sufficient references from the *two* to keep him properly employed, and the burden of the work will fall on the deputies. If on the other hand they are only to record and report, they save the chief of the department scarcely at all, every question has to be settled ultimately by him, and they have served only to delay business. This last has, we believe, been the predicament of the Public Works Department during the last five years; the work would have been done quite as expeditiously and efficiently had there been only the Chief Engineer, while the superintendence has been too scattered and occasional to be at all effective. But the numbers speak for themselves. To have one man looking after two, and the two looking after thirty, is *prima facie* a bad distribution of force.

Nor is the distribution of the Executive Engineers a more economical one. It will be readily understood from what has gone before that the duties of an Executive Engineer are pretty much alike in every division. Each Engineer has to design and construct the works of every description that are required in it, and although there is to a certain extent a division of employments, as roads and canals are kept as distinct charges from the districts through which they run, and have separate establishments for their superintendence, still in the ordinary executive divisions which form the bulk of the department, the duties of the Engineer vary but little. An Assistant Engineer usually gets his promotion to Executive Engineer after from one to four years' service, and he will probably remain in that grade from 15 to 20 years. As a general rule certainly the heaviest divisions are given to the older men, and the lighter charges to the younger, and in this way only does the Engineer get an increase of work and responsibility in proportion to his experience; but this is by no means always the case, and of late years it has been



not uncommon to see the heaviest divisions, such as some of the large military stations in the Punjab, held by young officers of five or six years' service, while old Captains on the eve of promotion were occupying the older stations where there was comparatively little to do: anyhow the plan which gives the old and young officer exactly the same *kind* of employment cannot be judicious. It would plainly be undesirable, even if the latter had received the best preparatory training, for he must constantly be meeting with difficulties for the mastering of which he has no experience to guide him: but it must be still worse when men have had little or no proper training. On the present system the Executive Engineer, no matter who he may be, is expected to be capable of designing and constructing every work in his division, and to be an expert and accurate accountant, and all without any assistance, for the Superintending Engineer, as at present constituted, is almost powerless to help him.

The evils of such a system are great. First, faulty designs must be the consequence of unqualified designers. It is true that those for buildings which have been *sanctioned*, are submitted to the correction and alteration of the Chief Engineer; but that designs should first be prepared by competent persons would manifestly be preferable.\* But besides the *regular* business of a division, there must be always a great deal of building going on of an emergent nature for which there is not time to submit regular designs, and in these cases there is at present no guarantee for their being good ones. Moreover in regard to the *execution* of works, whoever the *designer* may be, we think it hardly necessary to enlarge on the importance of frequent inspections by persons of experience.

In addition to these objections there is to be added the great delay in every kind of work done by a man new to it. Few men like to confess that they don't understand their business, and certainly not those who owe their position to chance or favor rather than right; and sooner than seek advice on professional subjects from others, or set to work to master rudimentary difficulties, many novices prefer to remain ignorant, though the admission of want of knowledge must be the first step to remedying it. We have known numbers of men in this position, to whom it would have been no discredit to allow that they had still to learn everything connected with the profession they had adopted, but we do not remember to have ever heard the smallest voluntary admission that they felt any sense of deficiency, and we believe that

\* Our remarks do not hold good for barracks and buildings which are the same everywhere. For these standard plans are issued to all stations, but they form only a small part of the business of the department.

this reticence is connected with a great deal of the delay in engineering operations so often complained of, especially in the delay in preparing preliminary designs and projects.

But if men are too soon placed in the position we have been describing, the system is equally faulty in keeping them too long in it. After a short apprenticeship as assistants, officers frequently remain twenty years without any promotion in position, (they *do* get promotion in pay) performing the same kind of work. Their duties become at last very wearisome, especially the accounts, and so they are apt to lose their professional zeal as they become old in the department; instead of seeking for the posts of difficulty, they too often settle down in the places where there is least to do, content to take things as easily as possible until their time comes for promotion, for which when it does come, they are then too often unfit.

The changes which we propose to make in the present system will therefore be already gleaned in part from the foregoing remarks. The executive divisions should remain as at present, but over every three or four, a Superintendent should be appointed, who would be able from the limited extent of his circle, to give a really efficient supervision over every work going on in it. The Executive Engineer would be the "Resident Engineer," to construct the work in his division, and to keep the accounts of his expenditure, but he would have nothing to do with the preparation of designs, a duty for which no man can be qualified at first starting. He will be sure of having the constant advice and direction in all difficulties of one more experienced than himself, and he will have the cheering prospect of becoming a Superintendent of works himself in from twelve to fifteen years, when he will be quit of the drudgery of account keeping, and have all his time available for real engineering duties, instead of having as at present to look forward to twice that number of years without any change, to be followed by promotion which takes him away from his profession, and puts him at the head of a mere office for correspondence.

The advantages in the change we propose appear so obvious, that we are surprised it has never been thought of and adopted before. At present you may often see a young novice of a few months' standing holding one division, and a grey-headed Captain the next, each doing exactly the same kind of work, and each receiving an infinitesimal quantity of supervision from a functionary five or six hundred miles off, with a Chief Engineer who has nothing to do with the engineering operations of his province except on paper, hopelessly attempting to get through an amount of business which only an admirable Crichton could accomplish.

With our plan the drudgery would be chiefly at the outset, as it ought to be. The Engineer would certainly have still to keep accounts. For this there is no help, the man who spends the money must be the responsible person, but he will be better looked after and helped than at present, he will not have duties placed on him for which he is unfit; while in time, as his services become more valuable, he will be raised into a higher position where the experience he has gained will have a larger sphere to act in, and where the relief from accounts will give him more time for the practice and study of his profession.

Such a plan as this will go far to obviate the crying want for more engineers, since the services of those in the Department will be much more economically applied than at present. It will be essential that the superintendencies are not made too large (these, by the way, will be most aptly called *divisions*, and the present divisions *districts*) otherwise the old evil will be renewed. In our view of the case, no Superintendent should have more than five, and generally he should have only three or four executive divisions under him. Thus, for example, the North West Provinces are divided at present into 17 executive divisions, but of these many should be sub-divided, as they comprise out-stations which would better be placed directly under the Superintendent, since the functions of an Executive Engineer involving constant presence at his own works and offices, are altogether opposed to effective superintendence of a distant out-station. These 17 divisions are under two Superintending Engineers, in place of whom we would have seven Superintendents. One for Rohilkund, comprising the districts of Bareilly, Shahjehanpore, Moradabad and Nynce Tal; one for Meerut, the hill stations and Dehra, and Roorkee; one for Agra, Allyghur, Mynpooree and Futtehghurh; one for Cawnpore and Allahabad; one for Benares and the districts in the Civil division of that name now in charge of Assistants; and one for Bundelkund. The different divisions of the Grand Trunk Road should be under one Superintendent, to ensure uniformity of management.

Again in Bengal there are 28 executive charges (exclusive of the cinbankment divisions which would remain a separate superintendency as at present) which would be distributed among seven or eight divisions. Of these the five executive divisions at the Presidency, viz., the Fort, the Civil Architect's charge, the Iron Bridge Yard, the Circular Canals, and the Soonderbun Roads, would naturally make one; the overgrown Barrackpore division which has the large stations of Dum-Dum and Chinsurah attached to it, another, and so on. The Runjaub would be conveniently distributed into six or seven divisions, and Oude, when road making is set into full swing again, into four.

Superintending Engineers, as at present constituted, would be no longer required. The new Superintendents might be advantageously divided into two grades, on 700 and 800 Rupees staff salary respectively, and as there would be so many more of these, giving increased promotion, the present grade of first class engineer might also be abolished.

The Chief Engineer, as will be presently explained, is no longer to have the non-professional duty of auditing accounts on his hands, and will thus have his whole time available for his proper work. He will be also in direct communication with the Government of the province, and its organ of communication with the Government of India, whereby a large amount of correspondence and a great saving in office establishment will be made, for at present each local Government has a large Public Work office, which fills pretty much the relative position towards that of the Chief Engineer that the Board of Control occupied in regard to the old Court of Directors. At the same time the Chief Engineer will not be in the position of a Secretary, in respect of being an irresponsible agent to convey and receive the opinions of others, but will have the control as at present of his department within certain defined limits, beyond which he will have to take the orders of the Government. Doctrinaires may doubtless be found to object to this plan, as opposed to the customary ideas on the relations of departments, but if the powers of the Chief Engineer, are distinctly laid down at the outset, there should be no practical difficulty in working it, while the saving of time will be immense, to say nothing of the advantage of suppressing the state of chronic irritation that has before now characterized the relations of the local government and its engineer department.

In those provinces which would have, under the proposed system, more than five Superintendents, it would still be necessary for the Chief Engineer to have some assistance in working the machine effectively. The reports and plans that would come up from half a dozen of the new divisions, would be very numerous; these, as there would be no Superintending Engineer, would come directly to the Chief Engineer and would be probably more than he could manage, since his general business, however much it may be lightened by relieving him from the audit, must always be very considerable. Whenever, therefore, the number of divisions under him amounts to six or more, he should have the assistance of a Deputy. This officer should be strictly a deputy, that is one to whom certain powers are deputed, and not as at present a vehicle of communication. His orders would have the same authority as those of the Chief Engineer, to whom alone he would be responsible for the exercise of that

authority in such limits as the latter might delegate. He would have no separate office or records, nor even separate numbers of office letters, and no *official* communication with the Chief Engineer. In practice, the latter would probably make over to him the charge of three or more divisions of superintendence,\* in which he would perform the functions of the Chief Engineer, referring such points as the latter might direct him to do; it being understood however that the Chief Engineer's decision is supreme and final in every case, as he should also be wholly responsible. We should thus have the advantage of a Board in the means of getting collective opinions, without its concomitant drawbacks of divided counsels and absence of responsibility, and we should have to a certain extent the division of labor which exists in the present system without its accompanying delays and expensive establishments for correspondence.

We can fancy that objectors will be found to such a scheme. They will urge the liability of the higher authority to be compromised through the irresponsible acts of his Junior, or that a man jealous of power may keep the business too much to himself, or that if the chief is indolent, the deputy may obtain the virtual direction of his duties, or generally that a clashing and jarring is sure to arise where the duties of two officials in such constant contact are not clearly defined. We reply to the last assumption, that their relative positions are perfectly well defined. The deputy will have authority only through its being placed in him by the chief; the latter will have in his records immediate access to the acts of the former, and the power of immediate check and control over them. Undoubtedly then he is responsible, as he deserves to be, for all that the former may do, and further, we may remark that the majority of official men have learnt by the time they reach such situations, to exercise forbearance and good sense. It will be obviously for the interest of the Chief Engineer to distribute the work fairly between himself and his deputy, and to take care that the views of the government of which he is the agent are carried out by the latter. The good sense of the deputy will lead him to conduct the work agreeably to his superior, while his honor will make him give effect to the intentions of the Chief Engineer in good faith. Undoubtedly it *may* happen that an indolent chief will suffer an improper share of his authority to slip out of his control, or an over-zealous one may fail to exercise a generous confidence in the acts of his junior (and it may be remarked that the latter is likely to be the commonest failing of the two,) but such cases will be exceptional, general rules must be framed for the generality of men.

We have already observed that a main feature in our scheme is

the separation of the accounts from the duties proper of engineering. This may be done entirely as regards the Chief Engineer's office; but with the Executive Engineer the relief can only be partial, though it still may be considerable. To explain this we must briefly touch on the question of accounts, though the subject is such a large one that we cannot do more than briefly notice its main points, and we fear that by no treatment can we make the subject very interesting.

We have already stated that the Engineer, under the Military Board and its system, had the whole management and care of accounts of his expenditure; he was debited with all monies received on account of a work, and eventually got rid of the liability by drawing a bill on the Government for the cost, upon its completion. It will readily be understood that any accounts involving large dealings with day laborers, and of materials which are constantly undergoing a change of value and form, must always be of a complicated and intricate character. Accounts of work will indeed be usually more intricate than mercantile ones, for while the goods of the merchant remain invariable in form, a hogshhead always a hogshhead, a bale of cotton always a bale of cotton, the materials on the Engineer's books are constantly going through a process of change. The mud worked up into a sun-dried brick gradually becomes transferred, after mixture with other materials, into the finished masonry wall. The tree purchased while growing in the forest is first enhanced in price by the cost of felling it, and further by the cost of transferring it to the place where it is required. When sawn up into logs or planks, the fractional cost of the tree which represents the value of each log or plant, is to be increased by a part of the sawyer's wages, of the wear and tear of his tools, and further by a share of the cost of the shed built to protect it from the weather, and of the watchman's pay who looks after it. After this, it will probably be worked up for use with other materials, the prices of which have been determined in an equally complicated way, the price of the whole combined into a manufactured state being further increased by the cost of the labor to do so. So with lime, cements, paints and all other materials. To keep exact accounts of them through all these transitions, and to be able to shew what they are worth at every stage of the operation, involve account-keeping of a very complicated and difficult character. Heavy cash accounts with contractors and day laborers, though simpler than stock accounts, require method and attention, and it will therefore be readily understood that with every Engineer his accounts come to be considered a very important, often the most important, part of his duty. Now anything which takes him away from his proper duties as an Engineer, especially if it be something of a

mechanical kind which could be equally well performed by a less educated person, is to be deprecated, as causing a loss of intellectual power, but to a certain extent the system is unavoidable. So long as an Engineer has to execute works, so long he must pay for them, and paying for them, he must account for his payments; there is no way of evading this, but a good deal may be done to lighten the burden, and make it more endurable than it has been hitherto. Nor again is it possible to simplify the accounts; in the sense of making them shorter, or carrying them through fewer books and forms. If they are to be accounts at all, they must always be complicated and voluminous in details, though the general principles may be, as they should be, perfectly simple. But several causes have heretofore rendered them complex and tedious beyond what was either necessary or desirable.

Firstly, the rules of the department required that the bill rendered on the completion of a work should correspond minutely with the estimate submitted before its commencement, no reasonable latitude being permitted for variations in the design while the work was constructing; or perhaps it may be more correct to say that such deviations were permitted, but that they necessitated a tedious explanation in a tabular form which it was exceedingly difficult to frame. Thus the preparation of a bill came often to be looked on as a dreadful operation, to be avoided as long as possible. Further, a most unfair rule was maintained that a bill should not only be within the estimate for a work in its total sum, but that it should also be less than the estimate in every separate item. Thus if a work consisted of ten different parts, each forming an item in the estimate, although the Engineer might construct it altogether for considerably less than the estimate, and shew a saving in nine out of the ten items, he would still be responsible if the tenth item of the bill was in excess, and be liable to make good the excess out of his own pocket. But while this absurd rule prevailed, it was tacitly admitted by the authorities that the item of a bill might be *adjusted*, so that those which were under the mark might be made to help those which were not. Thus while the total amount still represented exactly the total cost of a work, it was usual, with the tacit consent of the Auditors, to prepare the different items comprising it, with reference to what it was thought they *should* have cost, before they were commenced. This system was of course productive of exceeding delay, because after the actual accounts of a work had been closed, the artificial process called the making out of a bill had still to be gone through.

Another prolific cause for trouble arose from the necessity for keeping back the bill until the work was completed, though its

construction might extend over several years. This would have been chiefly mischievous only in augmenting the mass of accounts in an office, and the money responsibility of an officer, had he always remained to finish the work himself and submit his bill, but of late years especially, the exigencies of the service have led to frequent transfers of officers at short intervals, and it has not been uncommon to meet men who have large outstanding debits against them for unclosed accounts in three or four different offices. It is true that the regulations of the department required an officer on quitting a division to prepare bills for the *portions* of works constructed by him up to date. But in many cases he was ordered away suddenly for emergent duty, and even if he were not, to prepare such bills supposes that the accounts were closed up to date, which by the very nature of accounts was an impossibility.\*

But the principal reason for the delay and embarrassment which the accounts generally occasioned arose, we believe, from the majority of officers not knowing how to keep them. The management or rather mismanagement of accounts, like every other business under the old Indian system, was supposed to require no special knowledge or training, and as men are slow to confess themselves unable to do what the majority of those about them profess to find perfectly easy, it was scarcely to be expected that any cry for reform should come from within. But Book-keeping, though not a science of indefinite extent, or having, like Mathematics, difficulties which only certain minds can overcome, has yet its main principles which cannot be violated with impunity, and these few men are likely to find out by themselves; most of its operations admit of being done in one definite best way, and to know this way is to be saved a great deal of useless labor. The Military Board, which was only a Board of Audit, kept no books, and it laid down no system of books for the officers of the department; it had indeed established a set of forms for the different returns to be made to itself, but it did not instruct the department how to keep books which should afford the means of exhibiting these returns in a simple and efficient manner, and any one attempting to keep accounts by the use of the Board's forms, and *no others*, would infallibly have got into a hopeless mess. Each officer was therefore left to himself to establish his own system of book-keeping, and the result was what might have been expected. Some few went to principles and did well, some hit upon plans which gave them correct accounts exhibited, and all necessary details, but.

\* The Public Works accounts *must* always be in arrears, to what extent is an open question, but those who look to any system to prevent the accumulation of *some* arrears, cannot understand the subject.



with vastly unnecessary complication of books, and requiring the constant attention of the officer himself; while others, in whom the bump of order was probably imperfectly developed, never succeeded in establishing any system at all. In the latter case the preparation of the bill after a work was finished, was of course an almost hopeless task, and if ever accomplished, involved an amount of mental labor that, properly applied, would have made the unhappy officer a finished accountant. Lastly, we must not omit the aggravating circumstance that, from press of work, the Board was greatly in arrears in auditing such accounts as ever came before it.

This explanation has been necessary to understand how matters stand at present. The Commission knew well that in India the man who spends the money must be the one to account for it, that the Engineer must also be the responsible accountant, however uneconomical the distribution of labor may apparently be; but assuming this to be fixed they suggested several means of lightening his labor. The principal of these were;—1st, a more rapid audit, which they proposed effecting by having a separate audit office for each province, and by permitting a greater latitude in the difference between the estimate and bill, thus rendering the preparation of the latter easier; 2nd, that every executive officer should be properly instructed in the principles of account-keeping; 3rd, that a responsible accountant should be attached to every office to relieve the Engineer from the main drudgery of the books and give him more time for his engineering duties. The first of these proposals has been carried out under the present system; as regards the second, things remain much as they were then; the third reform has been sought to be effected in a different way.

Lord Dalhousie, in sending the report of the Commissioners home, supported warmly all their propositions, but suggested whether it would not be possible, as a more economical arrangement, to appoint an Accountant to every two or three executive offices, instead of to each one. This proposition took off the Commissioners at a tangent, and their original scheme eventually resulted in the present system of a central office of accounts for each province in the Presidency. The plan is merely an expansion of the principle of Lord Dalhousie's suggestion, in its details the system of the Ganges Canal has been adopted. The central office consists of a complete establishment of accountants and book-keepers, who receive through the Executive Engineer the original accounts of each subordinate disbursing Agent served under him, and work them up into the eventual bill, which the central office then draws against the Government. All the stock accounts of the Executive Engineers are also kept in the

central office, who has thus only, to deal with the numerical quantities of the articles under his charge; the Contractors' accounts are also ledgered there, and the Engineer's expenditure is audited month by month. We have not space to discuss here the respective merits and demerits of the new system as compared with the old; there is a great deal to be said on both sides, and to do justice to the subject, which is a highly important one, and on which depends in great measure the efficiency of public works' management throughout the country, would require an Article in itself. We may remark however that by the new plan a uniformity of system must of necessity be established, and the accounts are dealt with and worked up by an efficient well trained office, so that the bungling and confusion which characterized the executive offices of former days will be prevented. Undoubtedly too, a more rapid audit will be practicable than used to obtain. On the other hand it must be admitted that the old school has some grounds for prophesying failure, or at any rate that the system of centralisation will not produce all the advantages which its admirers expect, though this may happen from their expecting too much, not because it is not an advance on former practice. Under the old plan, the Engineer *virtually* audited the accounts of the disbursing Agents subordinate to him. This duty is now performed by the central office, the original accounts being forwarded to it through the Engineer, and as a mere question of audit the alteration is plainly objectionable, since the central office has not the same means of comparing the accounts with the work done which the Engineer on the spot possessed. Those who anticipate from the new system as a set off against this, that it will give the Engineer entire relief from accounts, will be disappointed. No system that can be devised will remove responsibility from him who has to spend the money; it may save him from the worry of stock accounts and bill making, but as long as he has heavy running accounts with contractors, so long must he keep a ledger, and to be properly informed on the state of his division between the intervals of receiving the different statements of his accounts from the central office, he must keep at least a number of office memoranda, which will be little less troublesome than regular books. Those too, who look for an *immediate* audit as the first of the new system, will certainly be disappointed. Such a thing is impossible. With the large extent of most divisions including many out-stations where the disbursements must be in the hands of subordinates, often ill-trained and frequently changed, it is hopeless to expect that the returns should always be made with

punctuality and exactness;\* to ensure their being so, an increased establishment would be necessary, costing more than the gain would be worth. A delay or irregularity in the submission of the accounts from one sub-division, throws out the accounts of the whole division, and delays their audit; in such cases we believe it is intended to keep to the letter of the rule, by auditing only the accounts that are sent up properly, and retrenching the remainder, but this is of course merely the shadow not the substance of an effective audit. We think also that the new system is fairly chargeable with not being carried out in its entirety, and so being unnecessarily complicated. At present all retrenchments in the accounts of a subordinate are made in the first instance against the Executive Engineer, who recovers them from the former, so also all credits passed for works in the division go through the Engineer's books, and his office is thus in point of fact a central office itself for the collection of the accounts of his subordinates, and we confess we can perceive no insuperable objection to extending the principle of the new system to its logical result, by dealing directly between the central office and the original disbursers, and limiting the Executive Engineer's share to advancing cash to them and checking their abstracts.

Still, on the whole, the present system must be admitted to be an improvement on the old system or rather want of system, though we conceive it to be very far from the best that could be framed, and we think it to be regretted that an attempt was not first made to reform the latter on the plan suggested by the Commission, of making each executive office thoroughly efficient in itself, since from the necessity we have explained of still partially keeping up a double set of books, and the increased liability to multiplicity of reference which must accrue as the accounts go farther from the fountain head before they are worked up, the present system must always be an expensive one.

Another reform which remains to be introduced, is the consolidation of all the clerks in the public works offices into one establishment through which promotion should go according to merit. At present each executive officer entertains his own clerks and can dismiss them at pleasure, a system full of defects. Of course where the tenure of a situation is so uncertain, a proportionally higher rate of pay must be given. Also, since there

\* We doubt the expediency of the late penal regulations exacted on this head. When the good men of the department fall into arrears with their accounts it will be from force of circumstances to which the rules do not apply, and surely there are already sufficient means of coercing the idle and inefficient without making general rules to wound the *amour propre* of the whole department.

is no certainty, nor even any definite prospect of promotion for the clerks, they will on this ground also require comparatively higher pay on first taking the situations, just as no Ensign would come to India for two hundred Rupees a month, if he had only a *chance* of becoming a Lieutenant. But the worst part of the present hand to mouth plan is that all the offices in the country are bidding against each other, and there is thus a constant tendency to a rise of wages without any corresponding increase of efficiency. This is not the effect of free trade in baboos, or of unlimited competition, but simply because Government is constantly bidding against itself through its own officers.\*

We have known the head clerk of an office on 40 Rupees a month, enticed away to be head of the office of an adjacent division where the duties were not a whit more difficult, but where the pay had lately been raised to 100 Rupees, without the smallest reason, and we could mention a dozen similar cases, where nothing has been gained in efficiency and no new men brought in, but where the wages of those have been increased who were perfectly satisfied with what they were getting before.\* This has been going on until now the rate of clerks' pay is not only relatively, but actually higher than in England, and a half-educated baboo who is incapable of drafting the smallest letter, will often be met with in the receipt of a better salary than a well-educated gentleman in a similar capacity in London receives, to say nothing of the ordinary income of a curate.

We would therefore classify all the clerks of the public works offices of each province into one list, having a few good prizes (which would be chiefly in the audit offices,) and with such in prospect for men to obtain with some degree of certainty, there would be no difficulty in getting able candidates. The establishment might be divided into an upper and lower grade, consisting of accountants and writers respectively, and superior candidates might be allowed to enter the upper class at once, though generally it would be supplied by deserving men from among the writers. Since the number of writers must constantly fluctuate with the work to be done, it would be undesirable to fix too particularly the numbers of each grade; all that would be required to effect our proposed reform would be to fix the *number per cent.* on each scale of pay, which would leave the establishment sufficiently elastic and would stop the irregularities and anomalies that are now common.

This proposed amalgamation of offices into one establishment

\* This kind of competition goes on a great deal between different departments, as well as within the Public Works Department itself. The late increase of salaries in the Commissariat offices has attracted several men from the former, much to its detriment.

would be of great service to officers who have to undertake suddenly the construction of new stations. At present an officer so circumstanced has to pick up his clerks the best way he can; at first, when he wants them most he has no one, and thus it often happens that before he has organised a proper establishment, he is already hopelessly in arrears, which embarrass him as long as he continues to hold the situation. The only objection we can imagine being made to our proposal is that if the clerks were formed into a department, and their promotions were to emanate from the central office, they would be too independent of their immediate chief. But such an objection would be quite groundless. The head of the office will still have ample authority, as the promotions must be dependent chiefly on his recommendations. The present Draconic regime of dismissal at pleasure, tends rather to make men reckless than careful in their behaviour.

The executive offices being organised as above proposed, the central office of audit and account would be separated entirely from the Chief Engineer's office. The first essential for an audit department is that it should be to a great extent independent of the disbursing department. The Auditor, who should be an officer of experience in the department, must correspond with the local Government through some Secretary, who might be the Chief Engineer in his capacity of Public Works Secretary; and to ensure harmonious working with the executive offices, it would perhaps be desirable that the Auditor should be to a certain extent subordinate to him, but it should be distinctly understood that the Auditor is himself responsible for the accounts department, in all matters relating to which the Executive Engineers should be bound to take his orders. Some will object to this proposal on the score that the Engineer will be unable to act effectively under two superiors, but we doubt if such an objection be a practical one. The Magistrate and Collector may be said to have two Masters, the Judge in criminal and the Commissioner in fiscal affairs, and he has to supply returns to half a dozen other departments besides. The canal officers in the North West are subordinate both to the Commissioner and the Director of Canals, and also to a certain extent to the Judge, but we have never heard the slightest whisper against the practical efficiency of the Canal system.

The appointment of Auditor should be filled at first by a man of method and ability, and the salary should be higher at first that it is intended to be ultimately, as the work of construction will require far higher powers than are necessary to keep the machine going when once it is set fairly in motion. It will not be enough to issue a set of forms, but the men in charge of divi-

sional offices must be taught how to keep their books in such a way as to enable them to exhibit such forms quickly and easily. In fact the whole department has to be taught book-keeping, of which it knows very little at present, and great care and constant inspection by the Auditor of the executive offices in his circle will be required to render the system well understood and effective, and for the next three or four years the Auditors should be the hardest working men in India.

Although the reform in accounts cannot be introduced *too soon*, it is quite essential that it should be introduced *gradually*, or the change will cause inextricable confusion. A great mistake was made in this way in the Punjab in 1857. A "new system" (one of some half dozen that have been tried in as many years) was ordered to be commenced on the 1st of May, on which day every executive officer was to send in a general balance sheet, shewing his stock and all other liabilities brought up to date. The order was issued about a week before the return was required, and being addressed to offices which where all months and many, years, in arrears, and where in many cases it would have been impossible to take stock or close the accounts under weeks of unremitting labor, the result would have been plain. Not a tithe of the information necessary for opening a new set of books would have been received at the central office, while the unfortunate executives would have lost in the effort what little method they possessed before, and the whole department have been thrown into confusion. The Mutiny happened in time to prevent the attempt. A similar effort was made in the North West Provinces in 1854, to transfer every description of account in one day from the divisions to the central office, and the result was that up to May 1857, when all the accounts were fortunately swept away, not a single audit had, we believe, taken place except for establishment pay bills.

The proper way to effect a reform of this kind is to take up each division separately, and to transfer the accounts to the books of the central office, division by division. By concentrating attention on one executive office at a time, visiting it, if necessary, frequently, to see that the instructions given take effect, and gradually transferring the accounts to the new books as they are brought up in the old, a few weeks will probably suffice for the transfer of even the heaviest divisional account; the Auditor's own office will also be gradually and methodically organised, and in four or five years the accounts of the department really placed upon a satisfactory footing, are inestimable benefit to all concerned. This may seem a long time to wait for reform, and perhaps we have made rather a large estimate, but it will be cheap at that rate; five years have already passed since the original change

was made which was to settle everything, and yet almost everything remains to be done.

Lastly, in order that a uniform system may be maintained throughout the Presidency, a central authority will be necessary, to control the proceedings of the provincial auditors, and to be the head of the department in the accounts branch. The same official would have the preparation of the budgets and the management of the general financial business connected with the Public Works. He would be subordinate to the Secretary to the Government of India, and the title of Deputy Secretary would best indicate his functions. For the next few years, until the new system is well established, the situation would be an onerous and important one, and with the constantly increasing financial business connected with public works, it would scarcely become less so hereafter.

We trust our proposals have been sufficiently clear, though we cannot hope they have been very interesting to the general reader. Briefly to recapitulate; we propose a Chief Engineer as at present, at the head of the department, but really an Engineer, relieved from the most burdensome of his present duties, in direct communication with the Government, and its medium of correspondence with the Supreme Government. A Deputy Chief Engineer for the larger provinces, actually deputed by the Chief to act for him with his powers.\* Superintendents, men of some standing and experience over divisions which they can really superintend. Executive Engineers, with simpler duties and a more efficient because more organised office. An Auditor or Superintendent of accounts, subordinate generally to the Chief Engineer, but responsible for the duties of his office. Lastly, a Deputy Secretary with the Supreme Government for the financial and accounts business of the department. We conceive also, that we have shewn these alterations to be desirable.

We cannot quit the subject without a few remarks on the constitution of the Engineer establishment. The development of this, like most other services in India, has been gradual. Originally, or at least in the times of Warren Hastings and Lord Cornwallis, the earliest of which we can get any authentic information, the proceedings of the department partook of the lax character which distinguished those of the Indian and indeed the English public service generally. The usual mode of executing a work in the Mofussil was to commit it to an officer appointed temporarily for the duty, who received no salary but made his profits from the difference between the cost of the work and his

\* The Chief Engineer should still have an Assistant, as at present, for however great the reforms made may be, there must always be a great deal of business detail to deal with in his office.

estimate, and we may be pretty sure that the latter was not framed too low. At Calcutta the Chief Engineer of the Army conducted the engineering works, and approved his own proceedings in his capacity of member of the Military Board. Later on, when executive officers or superintendents of buildings were appointed on fixed salaries, it seems to have been common for them to have a share in the contracts for their own works. This was apparently a permissible transaction, as we find it prohibited in future by a General Order of the year 1789. As time passed on the department gradually became purged\* of the impurities which in the last century infected every branch of the public service both at home and abroad, and for the last fifty years its proceedings have been conducted in the high spirit of honor which characterizes them at the present day.

The executive officers and assistants were at first principally taken from the Engineer Corps, the greater part of which from its first establishment has always been employed in civil duties during peace time. The Engineer officers had however no special training, they came out like other Cadets appointed direct to the service, and made choice of their branch of it after arriving in the country. When the Military College of Addiscombe was established, and the Engineers became a special corps, its ranks being henceforth recruited there, appointments to Addiscombe were made by nomination, and only a very low minimum standard of qualification was required for admission, but the appointments from the College to the different services were entirely by competition. From one-twentieth to one-fourth or one-fifth of the Cadets of each term gained appointments in the Engineers; the competition has always been exceedingly severe, while the standard of education has been constantly rising, till now with the exception of the Polytechnic\* at Paris, the acquirements of the successful candidates are probably higher than at any other Military School in Europe, and, considering the youth of the Cadets, are certainly very remarkable. The successful candidates go to Chatham where they pass through a very excellent course of practical Military Engineering, and also a course of Civil Engineering which, though useful, is capable of being greatly im-

\* Admission to the Polytechnic is open to a very severe competition among all the youth of France; the Cadets who enter it are therefore all well educated, and their general qualifications much more equal than at Addiscombe, where a considerable number never make an effort to compete for the Engineers. The newly modelled senior or scientific department at Addiscombe will probably not come far short of the Polytechnic. The system at Woolwich resembles that at Addiscombe, but the advantages of entering the Royal Artillery or Engineers are so closely balanced that many of the Cadets choose the former. The proportion of appointments given to the Engineer Corps is usually also larger than at Addiscombe, which tends to diminish competition, and, probably from these causes, the standard of education at Woolwich has been for some years much lower than at Addiscombe.



proved. On arriving in India, the young officers enter the department as Assistants, occasionally first passing a few months with the Sappers and Miners.

The Corps of Engineers, as already remarked, has always been numerically inadequate for its duties, and the want has been supplied from the Line. Many of the Line officers attached to the department have entered it young, and obtaining a fair practical proficiency in their duties in subordinate posts, have risen gradually to more important ones as they became qualified; but more often they have been placed at once in charge of divisions without having any previous knowledge, theoretical or practical, of their duties.

This anomalous way of providing for the department is of course a relic of old times when there were no public works worthy of the name, and when the practice of Civil Engineering was supposed not to require any special training. The Court of Directors certainly recorded their opinion on several occasions, that this anomalous system should be regarded as a temporary expedient to be altered as soon as it could be, and in this view the Corps of Engineers has from time to time received small augmentations, to render it large enough to manage the whole Public Works Department. The Court however seems always to have nourished an idea that public works were a temporary evil, that a time would come when there would be no more required and the department reduced, when all but Engineer officers might be set free for regimental duty. Thus in 1839, the Court sanctioned an increase in the Engineer Corps from 67 to 87 officers, under the hope\* that, although they would still be 11 short in number for filling all the appointments of the department, "yet as some of these are temporary in their nature, on their cessation, and by a careful attention to the employment of the Engineers, the Government will be relieved in a short period from the necessity of confiding such duties to officers who have not been specially educated for this branch of the service."

Even Lord Dalhousie appears to have been infected with this idea that public works would soon have a definite end, for in 1852, in his minute on the subject, when alluding to the unsatisfactory state of the department from the paucity of Engineers, he observes that the completion of the Ganges Canal will soon set free several and thus partly meet the deficiency, as if all improvement centred and ended in this one work.

In spite however of a conservative policy, public works slowly advanced, and the number of persons engaged upon them increased. In 1840 the Engineers formed about two-thirds of the

\* Letter of Court of Directors, dated 20th March, 1839.

whole department, in 1850 they were a little less than one-half, and in 1856 they were less than one-third, there being seventy-one Engineers out of two hundred and forty men holding appointments. Of the remainder the majority were officers of the line (with a few from the Artillery) and the rest were Civilians. The Civil element was first introduced by Sir Proby Cautley on the Ganges Canal, from the utter impossibility of getting a sufficient number of military men for proper superintendence of his enormous works. The majority of the persons thus introduced were young gentlemen educated in the country, or who had come out in hopes of obtaining cadetships and had failed to do so. Several have thus served an excellent apprenticeship on the Ganges Canal and on the Punjab roads and canals, where Colonel Cautley's plan of organisation was soon adopted, and latterly many of the men so appointed have first received a very fair education at the Roorkee College. It must be added that these gentlemen were placed on a very unsatisfactory and uncomfortable footing; their pay was very small, and an increase could be got only after painful application to the home Government; their prospects of promotion and pension were vague and uncertain; they were apparently held to partake of the "interloping" element, and altogether their position was much inferior to what their general attainments and services merited.

Later still a fresh element was introduced into the service, when the home Government with a desire to press on public works, (about the time when the renewal of the charter was under discussion) appointed a number of Civil Engineers direct from England, who entered at once on the footing of executives. Some valuable men found their way to India in this manner, but as these appointments were apparently left to the choice of individual directors, and no sort of qualifications seems to have been required, it would be strange indeed if all those so appointed had been of equal merit.

In 1856 however the question of Public Works was taken up in a truly enlightened spirit both by the home and Indian Governments, and under the admirable superintendence of Colonel Baker, the late Secretary, the machinery for developing their views was remodelled on a thoroughly liberal basis. The inconsistency of considering the uncovenanted and line officers as mere temporary occupiers of their situations, was abandoned, the certainty that the service would continue to increase instead of decreasing was first publicly admitted, and provision for its expansion made by an amalgamation of the officers of the department into one general list, with equal salaries, privileges and prospects. The class of Executive Engineers was divided into four grades, with gradually rising rates of pay, promotion through

which was to be made solely by merit, thereby giving a great incentive to zeal which was wanted before; and admission to the service was thrown open without restriction to both Civil and Military men of all grades, proof of respectability only being required in the case of the former, and a professional test from both. The department therefore now contains four classes of men; the officers of the Engineer Corps, officers of the line, Civil officers appointed in India, and Engineers who have been sent out direct; the last class will not be renewed.

We conceive these arrangements to be excellent as far as they go. To insist that Engineer appointments should be confined to those who had entered the corps at 19 or 20, and that every man, whatever tastes and talents he might afterwards develop for the profession, should be debarred from entering it because he once missed the opportunity, would be the worst kind of pedantry. The present scheme provides for the admission of all who have a real taste for the profession, while at the same time it prohibits the reckless abuse of patronage by which line officers used to get appointments, and really good men can now earn as a right what before was matter of favor. Equally glad are we to find the merits and claims of the Civil officers recognised. The new scheme is then a thoroughly liberal one, but we still doubt if it will meet the requirements of the time.

We have alluded to the examination to be passed before entrance. This, though very considerably easier than what the Engineer corps has to pass, and certainly not more than should be required from candidates, is still a tolerably stiff one; and what we doubt is that enough men will be found able to pass it. And first with regard to the army. The candidates from this source will be either from Addiscombe, or direct Cadets. If the former, they will have already been unsuccessful competitors for the Engineers or Artillery (we exclude the supposition of Artillery officers entering the department, as only a very small number can possibly be spared to do so) and are therefore not likely to succeed in acquiring much purely scientific knowledge afterwards, when they are removed from the emulation and discipline of a college, and are surrounded by the distractions of military life. Of the direct Cadets, the majority leave school comparatively young, certainly few sufficiently advanced in Mathematics and Mechanics, to continue the study of them with success. Lastly, in both cases, another important source of elimination arises from the numerous other fields for distinction open to officers; civil and political employ, to say nothing of actual military staff appointments, will generally offer greater attractions to promising young men than the public works line. While then, we should strongly deprecate any lowering of the test for admission, as tend-

ing to injure the character of the service, we believe that the number of admissions from military sources will never be very numerous. The last two years have certainly been exceptional, from the pressure of military duty, but since the test came into operation we understand that no officer has succeeded in passing it.

With regard to the civil element the case is somewhat different. Undoubtedly there is no better opening in India for a young man not "in the service" than the department we are treating of; it is far better than the uncovenanted civil service or the customs, the pay at starting is sufficient for comfortable support, the profession is of an engaging, not to say fascinating kind, and promotion waits on merit. This branch of the service will therefore attract in future most of the young gentlemen in India who are seeking for a livelihood. But this class will always be very small, and those who compose it are not likely, from the very fact of being in India, to have had the best advantages in education, therefore the number of admissions to the department from this source can never be large. Hitherto it has been customary to appoint all who have succeeded in passing the minimum standard; in this way there have been about three or four admissions a year, usually from Roorkee, and these form such an admirable provision for the sons of officers who cannot not get commissions, that we hope they will always continue to be made in the same liberal way, especially as men on the spot may be held to have a kind of prior claim to disposable patronage. At the same time we may observe that with the means of selection available in England, this would not be the best way of filling up the whole department.

If on no other ground then, simply from the absence of other means, an extension of the Engineer Corps comes to be the best available vehicle for supplying the wants of the service. But this is the lowest ground to take. Theoretically indeed the whole department should obviously be supplied from that Corps alone. If it be admitted that the service of engineering requires a high standard of proficiency and acquirements, and when men who possess that can be got by severe competition to any extent required, it does seem at first view most short-sighted policy not to avail ourselves of it, but to apply it to the extent of about one-third of our wants, and to supply the rest comparatively at random. Yet this is just what has been done hitherto. With obvious means of recruiting the Engineer department in a most efficient way, they have been only partially adopted, and a confessedly secondary makeshift channel used instead. At the present time, the Engineers' corps forms less than a third of the department, and this when strained to the utmost; the Military wants of the service having been sacrificed to the Civil, and the

Corps of Sappers and Miners reduced to inefficiency from the want of officers.

But on the other hand we should be sorry to see this reasoning have its full force, and the department ever made a close service. There should always be room for the admission of any line officer who exhibits a taste and talent for the profession. Such men entering it at mature age from sheer love of the work, as some have done, will always be valuable additions, and any system which made their admission impossible, would be bad. Also the mixture of the Civil and Military elements is likely to produce a wholesome spirit of emulation with the department. All close boroughs are bad, and any body of men, no matter how carefully they are selected in the first instance, is liable to become rusty if left too much to itself. Every one has observed the healthy stimulus which the Civil Service derived, by the introduction of Military men into the Punjaub Commission. Therefore we conceive a perfectly open service to be the best one for the Public Works Department. But as already explained, the *majority* of the men required can never be got in India in this way; the field of supply is too small, nor would it be desirable to entertain more than enough of those who can just pass in to keep up the miscellaneous character we have recommended; the majority should evidently be got from the best market, especially as they all cost the same. At present, it must be remembered, there is a large number of men who entered under the old lax regime, without any claims or qualifications. This door is now closed, and as these men pass away, there will be none to supply their places. The number of those of a *similar* class who will be able to get admission under the new test will be, as already explained, but limited. The only plan therefore is to get a supply from home.

Addiscombe offers the means of supplying the want. The number of Engineers which that College could turn out annually, used certainly to be limited, and bore a tolerably fixed ratio to the number of Cadets trained at it; if that ratio were exceeded the standard would have to be lowered. But under the new arrangement by which the Cadets have to compete for admission, the standard of acquirements will be generally much higher than at present, and the number who will qualify for Engineers will be greater in proportion; it will be practically unlimited, with reference to the number of vacancies to be filled in India. Or, in place of choosing from Addiscombe, a class of young Civil Engineers may be elected. The home authorities have apparently determined upon the latter plan. A late advertisement in *The Times* announces that on the 10th May last, a competitive examination would be held for twenty-four ap-

pointments to the Indian Engineer Service. This is the first germ of a new Corps of Civil Engineers, which appears to be called into existence chiefly from the restless desire of novelty in education so actively exhibited in England at present. We believe the step to be an entire mistake, and we proceed to give our reasons.

The rules relating to these appointments prescribe that the Candidates must be under 22 years of age, and have served at least three years under some Civil Engineer; the examination comprises Algebra and Geometry in the Mathematics, Mechanics, Surveying, Plan and Architectural drawing, preparation of estimates and specifications, the drawing up of projects for engineering works, and lastly English and Anglo-Indian History and Geography, for which four subjects together fewer marks are given than for any other subject alone. The total number of marks in all is 1000, and 600 marks must be gained to qualify. The first 24 of those who gain more than 600 will be appointed in order of merit, and will be allowed choice of Presidency, provided that not more than 12 proceed to Bengal, and not more than six to Madras and Bombay respectively. They are required to sail within six weeks of being appointed; they are provided with free passages and receive pay from the date of sailing at the rate of 170 rupees a month. On arriving in India they will be sent to one of the Colleges of Civil Engineering, to acquire a knowledge of the language, and to receive further instruction in their profession. On being reported qualified by the Principal of the College, they will join the department.

We may observe in the first place that the test for qualification is considerably lower than that required from Candidates for the Military Corps of Engineers; this is doubtless necessary, for only those educated in a first rate School would be able to undergo it; still the fact remains that the men coming out in this way to be admitted to the department on exactly the same pay and privileges as the Military Engineers, have got their appointments on easier terms. Secondly, we think the test may be objected to as being of too purely a professional character. The marks for drawing and surveying, to a great extent mechanical accomplishments, form a large proportion of the total; a person may therefore stand very high whose general education is of a very limited nature, or indeed who has had no education, in the proper sense. At Addiscombe not only are the Mathematical tests much severer, but languages are fairly represented, and the Natural Sciences have a place.\*

Again, the rules provide that Candidates must have serv-

\* At Addiscombe, however, the Education is of too special a character.

ed three years in a Civil Engineer's office. Now no Civil Engineer is likely to recommend his best pupils to leave him; he looks to them to become his assistants, and the young man so situated who gives promise of future excellence in his profession, is generally provided for by his master as soon as his articles have expired. We shall therefore only get the second best men whom the Engineers do not care to retain at home. The age of the Candidates is another objection. At twenty-two a man has generally a pretty good notion of his own merits, he has had time to compare himself with his fellows, and to estimate his chance of success in life, and a man who feels within him the capacity for a career at home, is not likely to be tempted to India by 170 Rupees a month and a free passage. We have proof for this in the Civil Service, the competitive examinations for which have failed as yet to attract a single distinguished scholar from Oxford or Cambridge; though the prize is so much higher, the heads of the list have been usually men who have either failed to get honors at all, or have taken the questionable ones of *Senior* or *Junior Optime*.

In fact, to obtain first rate men for any branch of the Indian service, which offers none of the grand prizes to be gained by successful services at home, it is essential to choose them young, before they have found out what they are fit for themselves. Only *lads* care to enter the navy; at sixteen an appointment to India is often thought a fine thing; but at twenty-two a clever man will probably regret in his exile that he did not stay to take his chance in the battle of life at home.

Another cause to deter many men from competing for these appointments will be the fear of failure, and its concomitant loss of reputation. At Addiscombe there is nothing of this, since those who fail to get the Engineers are provided for in other branches of the service, but here there is no alternative offered between success and disgrace.

The proper way of securing the best talent for the Civil Service would be to hold a competitive examination for admission to a College like Haileybury, among lads of from 15 to 17, and to give appointments to all of these who gain admission who may succeed in passing a severe *minimum* test after a couple of years or so spent there, and lest the risk of failure to pass this second examination might deter some candidates from coming up to compete, the unsuccessful collegians might receive commissions in the line. Similarly if the appointment of young Civil Engineers is to become a regular thing, in preference to excluding Addiscombe, a far preferable plan to the present, would be to select them by a *general* educational test, when boys, and either to apprentice them for a term of years among

different Civil Engineers, or to organise an establishment for their instruction together. By such a system, and by such a system only, will a really efficient body of Civil Engineers be ever obtained for India, and even then they will be inferior as a class to the Military Engineer, for the simple reason that the prospects and advantages are greater in the one case than the other. The pay of the two classes is certainly the same, but the commission which the one holds is in itself a prize of no mean kind, and will always make the military service the most valued of the two. Independently of the military *rank* which is a tangible reality, there is also the chance of military *distinction* and honors, distant and uncertain, it is true, and seldom realised, but it is just these distant prizes which human nature finds so attractive. Not one barrister in two thousand becomes Lord Chancellor, not one in a hundred becomes a Judge, but strike off the Bench, and how many men would enter the bar? In our argument we have said nothing of the value to a Government of the *esprit de corps* in a body of its servants, of the value of that honorable pride engendered in a service which has never been wanting to the state either in war or peace, and which shares with its sister service, the Indian Artillery, a reputation unsurpassed by any Military Service in the world; these feelings and associations are not to be acquired or purchased, they are a noble heritage to be transmitted unsullied and undiminished from one generation to another, and they give the possessors an inestimable advantage over any other body of men, their equals in other respects, but wanting this bond of union, and these ennobling associations. Setting these considerations aside, however, and arguing on mere utilitarian grounds, we maintain that unless the value of military rank is made up by a rate of pay not far short of that enjoyed by the Civil Service, the class of men that will be forthcoming under the new system will be assuredly inferior as a class to the Military Engineer, for the simple reason that the service will be a less attractive one.

It may be objected to our reasoning that there are distinct duties to be performed in India, which call for the separation of the Civil and Military elements. Further in connection with this view there is an opinion frequently propounded, though in a vague and shadowy way, that Military Engineers are by the nature of their employment disqualified from the management of Civil works, and as a good deal has been said about this lately, particularly in the late report on Indian Railways, and as the speakers have been hitherto unanswered, it will be as well to examine the question. Now, setting aside altogether the class of men to whom every educated gentleman is a standing reproach to themselves, we believe that this mistaken impression arises



partly from the irregular and often unsatisfactory manner in which even the better class of Civil Engineers are brought up to their profession. From the want of a good scientific foundation on which to rest their practical knowledge, the acquisition of the latter often becomes a matter of painful labor, and each fact acquired is regarded as an isolated acquisition leading to nothing else, from the incapability of such a mind for generalization. What is so difficult for themselves they conclude to be equally difficult for others; they conceive that because they have with difficulty mastered a special branch of a special subject, it must be impossible for others to do more. "We," these gentlemen argue, "know nothing about building forts, how then can those who do build forts, know how to do any thing else." To say nothing of the transparent fallacy in the reasoning, a reply is suggested by the foregoing remarks.

Another reason for this mistaken view lies in the ambiguous meaning given to the expression "Military Works." If by this term are meant the buildings prepared for the use of *Military men*, or the roads and bridges which connect *Military Stations*, we should be glad to know in what respects the constructive principles of such works differ from those of ordinary Civil Engineering. We imagine that the principles involved in the construction of a roof are pretty much the same, whether it be intended to cover a barrack, or a warehouse, and that the merits of a road are not affected by the question whether it is undertaken for political or commercial considerations. And if to be engaged on Military works, taken in this sense, debars a man from the right of being considered a Civil Engineer, then most of the eminent Engineers of the day are in this predicament, from having been employed by the Government for such works at some period or other of their careers. And yet, from sheer haziness of mind, some such ideas are often entertained. Colonel A. designs and sets up the elaborate machinery for boring guns in Woolwich arsenal, and Mr. B. that for turning blocks in Chatham dockyard, yet forsooth the one is a mere Military Engineer, other a distinguished Civil Engineer.

If, on the other hand, it be urged that the Military Engineers are actually engaged in Military duties which take them away from engineering pursuits proper, the refutation is made by a simple reference to facts. At the present time, out of 120 officers composing the Corps of Bengal Engineers, *seven* are actually engaged in Military duty. In fact the corps is, and has been during the last forty years, entirely engaged (with a very small number of exceptions as in the present instance) in Civil Engineering duties during peace time; to draw a distinction therefore between the professional duties of the Civil and Military Engineers employed in this country, is mere balderdash.

It may perhaps be objected that the present state of things is exceptional, that the efficiency of the Military service has been sacrificed to the exigencies of the state, and that we are describing what is, instead of what ought to be. Unquestionably the present system has been carried too far, and the neglected state of the Sapper Corps calls loudly for reform, but it is altogether a fallacy to suppose that there is any military duty in peace time calling for the presence of a large body of Engineers. The fact is that Military Engineering proper, as distinguished from Civil Engineering, that is, the mere technical details of it which are not met with in ordinary constructions, are all to be learnt in two or three years of industrious study. It is in short in its present state a *finite* art, the end of which is soon reached, and a clever man will know as much of it in five years as in fifty, during peace time. This indeed may be said of every branch of the military service. There is nothing in the *technical details* of it that may not be acquired by any man of ordinary intelligence in five or six years; after that, he spends the rest of his time, like a farrier or a cobbler, in doing the same thing in the same way over and over again, year after year.

Real experience in the military profession can only be gained in war; one month's campaigning is worth a dozen years of parades, and he is the real veteran who has seen most of battles, not he who has the greyest hair. This is peculiarly the case with Military Engineering in which all men must start as tyros. Still, Military Engineers, must be kept up in peace to be in readiness for war, and must be prepared in the best way that peace time admits of; and for this purpose, after the elementary principles of the science are acquired, there is nothing better than Civil Engineering, since it involves a constant practice in getting over much the same kind of difficulties as occur in war. So likewise the Civil Engineer will find in war the finest exercise for all his skill and talent, and an occasional campaign will amazingly sharpen his powers of resource.

Then, it may be said, would not the most efficient establishment consist rather of a body of Civil Engineers, sufficiently disciplined to act together, and trained in the elements of Military science, than of a special military body organized and employed only as such? Precisely so; and such a body, military in war, civil in peace, far too small indeed for the duties required of it, but admitting from its organization of indefinite extension, and paid partly in money, but partly by rank and by the honor of sharing in the reputation of the service to which they belong, such a body is to be found in the existing corps of Her Majesty's Indian Engineers.

- ART. VI.—1. *Report of Her Majesty's Civil Service Commissioners.*
- 2.—*General Orders of H. R. H. the Commander-in-Chief of the British Army.*
- 3.—*Regulations for conduct of Examinations for Appointments in the Indian Civil Service.*
- 4.—*Middle Class Examinations.*
- 5.—*General Orders of the Governor General in Council with regard to the Examination of all Junior Members of the Civil Service.*
- 6.—*Papers on the subject of the Instruction of Native Employés in the Civil Department.*

EXAMINATION is the order of the day ; it is the particular feature, perhaps snare, of the last half of the nineteenth century. In its two developments, either as competition based on a maximum, or qualifications based on a minimum, it has gradually inserted itself into every department of the State, civil or military, home or colonial. We expect before long that the principle will invade even domestic privacy, and that servants generally, partners probably, and wives possibly, will be selected with reference to tests, evidenced by certificates, and that all mankind in the great arena in the world will be docketed as good, indifferent, or bad : a great many false outward shows will no doubt be unmasked, but on the other hand much modest, but impractical, merit will thus be trampled on.

We are of that party who never oppose the idea of the age, so long as it not opposed to morality or religion. The real revolutionist is your obstinate conservative, who, by opposing inevitable progress, brings on a catastrophe :—by floating on the advance wave of reform and progress, but with the rudder firm in hand, much may be done to prevent a popular idea being exaggerated into a burlesque, or shrivelled up into a dry form. We cannot lay this monster, which is the result of the educational fervour of the last fifty years : let us try to control it. We may find a good servant, where there would certainly have been at bad master.

Is competition then a snare ? Is the trouble taken by Government to secure qualified employés thrown away ? Have the fool, the inert, the nephew of my uncle, the brother of my wife, the good sort of young man to whose relations I am indebted, the fellow who plays the flute, the younger son who has outrun the constable, a monopoly of the good things of office ? These are the

questions before us : if you deny the right alluded to in the latter question, you must affirm more, or less, the principle laid down in the former, for there are but three roads—seniority, patronage, merit. Now seniority implies a beginning from one of the two other sources, it can only deal with men in office, and no Government could be carried on on its principles only. Patronage soon degenerates into nepotism ; it has almost become synonymous for it. Merit can only be ascertained by some sort of test, that of examination for aspirants, and of practical official life for employés.

There is nothing new under the sun, and the opponents of the new principle, failing in argument, have been glad to attack it by making it appear ludicrous ; and a volume upon the Chinese, published by Mr. Meadows in 1856, in which one finds scores of things discussed which have no connection with China, gave them the opportunity. It appears that in China there is a regular system of examinations for public posts, which are in consequence monopolized by a certain literary caste, and moreover the tests are not practical, but dogmatical. Commissioner Yeh boasted that he knew “ Taoli,” and that that was enough. Now this is the exaggerated phase of the system, and is useful only as teaching us what to avoid.

At any rate the idea was not borrowed from the Chinese : if ever there was a popular movement, it is this. In every society, in every variety of human affairs, there are always two parties—those who are in, and those who are out ; only a certain portion of mankind can enjoy the good things of the world, and to those who are in possession it appears the simplest thing that this should be the case. But to those that are out of possession, it is always a mystery, a grievance, and a secret thorn, and periodically causes a great up-heaving of discontented spirits. In former days the “ out ” party were content to do their best to get themselves “ in,” but the spread of education has produced another cry, and at a meeting held in London in 1857, under the patronage of the Prince Consort and the President of the Educational Board, it was openly asserted that it was a right of the people to have all posts under Government thrown open to public competition, and the abuse of Parliamentary influence once and for ever abandoned. The beneficial effect, which such a measure would have on the spread of education, was mentioned as an incidental advantage, but the posts under Government were claimed as the inheritance of England’s sons, without favour or prejudice, and it was pointed out that Government would be better served by the introduction of better men.

Many things have combined to strengthen the general feeling :

the disasters in the Crimea exposed beyond power of defence the unsatisfactory mode in which appointments in every Department in England were filled up; the increase of Parliamentary corruption was traced to the same cause:—unfit men were appointed, because a pressure was brought to bear upon Ministers by their supporters. At the same time the patronage of India had to be disposed of, and a very different cause produced the same result. By degrees the Army has been infected, and all the professional branches have been thrown open, and, if this state of things continue, for the fools who are now in course of gestation, or who are still under age, it will be no easy matter to win a living, for hereafter if a man's wits do not help him, he may be pretty certain that his friends cannot. Now as it is a received fact that every family has one fool at least, if not more, we must expect that there will be a large body of malcontents with the new idea.

But there is no peace for the wicked, even after they have entered their profession; for the spirit of the age has not only embittered the sweets of a nomination by insisting on a certified efficiency, but it has fenced round promotion in the junior grades in a most insufferable way. The Commander-in-Chief in England, and the Governor General in India, have done this wrong to the Army and Civil Service, and most unpleasant and irksome it is to have to study, when a few years ago the only duty was to draw pay. But as yet open competition has not invaded the ranks of any service, and a minimum qualification is still deemed sufficient, but in a speech last year in the House of Commons Lord Stanley, who, if his life be spared, is destined to exert a great influence during the next quarter of a century, openly asserted, that “he had great faith in the system of unrestricted competition: though of comparatively recent origin, it had steadily made its way: every year brought over some new converts from the ranks of those, by whom it had been at first opposed:—he believed that it would prove itself eventually to be stronger than all Parliaments and all Governments, superior in short to all the influences which could be brought to bear against it.”

So think we also:—and this has induced us to place before the public what has been done in this matter, and some remarks on the advantages which may be expected therefrom.

At the time when England was excited by the mismanagement in Crimea, a motion was made by an independent member of the House of Commons, Viscount Goderich (now the Earl of Ripon,) on this subject, but was not pressed, as the Government undertook to make a forward move themselves, and accordingly an order in Council dated May 21, 1855, was passed, appointing a Civil Service Commission to conduct examinations of all young men propos-

ed to be appointed to junior situations in the Civil Establishments. Nomination was to remain as before with the heads of departments, but dependent on a certified qualification, and moreover a period of probation would be passed in all cases, during which conduct and capacity were to be submitted to tests. Provision was made, that when persons of mature years and *special* qualifications were appointed, the Chief of the Department must formally record the fact, which would justify an exemption from examination. In March 1856 the first Report of the Civil Service Commissioners was presented to Parliament, and the copy is now before us. Their report most entirely justifies the measure, and it presents a curious insight into official life, and a sufficient exposure of official prejudices. The Commissioners had great difficulties to contend with in their desire to keep all departments in harmony, for, though the Chiefs were all with them, the hungry underlings with their imperfectly educated sons and nephews, opposed, as far as they dared. The cry was raised that there would be a risk of not getting such gentlemanly men, and that school proficiency was not the only test: this was especially amusing, as the very same cry was raised by the opponents of the principle of competition as regards the Civil Service of India; from which we gather that all those who are in possession of place and power, are, by courtesy of official parlance, gentlemanly. However the small end of the wedge was got well in, and out of 1078 persons nominated to hold places under Government, 309, or nearly one-third, were rejected, for bad spelling, bad writing, and bad arithmetic, and the Commissioners in the appendix supply some charming specimens of the proficiency of Parliamentary nominees. They remark, "that the frequent occurrence in candidates of deficiency 'in the simplest elements of knowledge arises from the fact, 'that many of the inferior appointments are made without personal knowledge of the fitness of the party, on the recommendation of some person, who is desirous not of supplying the 'public with a useful officer, but of making a competent provision 'for a friend." This reads like bitter irony and hidden satire.

The order in Council expressly excluded competitive examinations, confining the measure entirely to the certified minimum, but some of the Chiefs of Departments were more liberal than the collective Council, and Mr. Labouchere, the Secretary for the Colonies, expressed a wish that when vacancies occurred for a writership in Ceylon, several candidates should contend, that the best qualified might be appointed. The Commissioners remark that both in the competitive examination for clerks in their own and other offices, those who had succeeded in obtaining the appointments possessed higher attainments than those

who had come in on nomination, and that if it were adopted as the usual course to nominate several candidates to compete for each vacancy, the expectation of the ordeal would act most beneficially upon the education and industry of those young men, who were looking forward to public employment.

These examinations were conducted both in London and the provinces: the age of candidates was fixed with reference to the nature of the duty: the health was certified by a Medical Officer, and the character by some respectable person, but the responsibility of this last most difficult subject rested with the head of the particular department under the system of nomination. Each department submitted their own scheme of examination, yet in the opinion of the Commissioners, after making every allowance for difference of standard, a common ground for one general examination might be attained, which should be indispensable to all, and which should serve as a species of matriculation, tending rather to exclude candidates who do not possess necessary qualification, than to designate absolutely the candidate considered to be best fitted for a particular vacancy. All that the Commissioners require of the candidates, and really they could not ask for less, is

- I. To write a good hand.
- II. To spell correctly.
- III. To write a simple letter grammatically.
- IV. To be conversant with the elementary portions of Arithmetic.

The "specialités" of each department would only be enquired into, when the indispensable qualification standard had been reached. We really think that the Commissioners could not have required less, and might well be blamed for not having demanded more, of the elegant and dapper young men who fill the public offices in England. They certainly are not paid highly, nor do they work very energetically. We have viewed with admiration, in some of the public offices, the calm and self-satisfied air of the official, the smoothly shaved chin, the neat necktie, the irreproachable costume, the easy way in which he turns over the leaves of his book, or deigns to commit his views to foolscap, with occasional refreshment from his sandwich box, a glance at the broad sheet of the *Times*, or a chat with his neighbours in the adjoining curtained partition, and we wondered how such a man would comport himself, if his destiny had doomed him to grow a red beard; while hunting down rebels in Oudh, or to sit in shirt sleeves with the thermometer at one hundred, judging the subject millions in the Punjab. We confess that we have been puzzled in England to find out exactly the limit betwixt the mere copyist, the Baboo of the

Indian office, and the intellectual workman. In India the official, defined as a clerk, is, however respectable, admitted to be socially inferior, can be sent for, and, if necessary, kept waiting, but the roughest and readiest of non-regulation officials could not have the heart to keep standing, or speak curtly to, one of the gentlemanly young clerks of the home offices.

We now proceed to notice briefly the General Order of the Commander-in-Chief on the subject of qualifications. There can be but one opinion on the merits of this order, that when a young man has entered a profession, he should qualify himself for the proper performance of his duties, and as human flesh is weak in the Army as elsewhere, the only way to test that qualification is by examination, which is to be strictly practical and professional, and to take place on the occasion of rising from one grade to another. There is no pretence that an officer should be a bookworm, or a scholar, or a mathematical genius: all that is required is, that he should be in reality, as well as name, a soldier in the same sense as his contemporaries are lawyers, clergymen, and sailors. It is an index of the perverted state of public opinion in some quarters, that even this proposition encountered opposition. Louder and deeper were the expressions of dissatisfaction against the rules with regard to filling up all staff appointments in future. The exposure in the Crimea has at least been productive of some advantage.

We pass over with a brief notice the movement made by the Universities in favour of what is called Middle Class Examinations, and the examinations held by the Society of Arts. However much they are abused and laughed at, they will not be laughed down, for their object is to certify merit and qualification. The great majority of the world are not dispensers of patronage, and they know not therefore the pressure brought to bear by interested parties, and the difficulty experienced in selecting fit men. A young man has no antecedents to refer to, and he has but his ingenuous countenance, and the too partial recommendation of his instructor. to bring forward, until these opportunities were offered him of submitting his qualifications to the test of an impartial examination. It is another strange sign of the times, that such benevolent and unselfish exertions in the favour of friendless youths should have encountered censure. The only real objection is a political one, and one which is honestly entertained by those who regard the movement from a different point of view. They dread the disturbing effect on the national character, they deprecate the idea, that the poorer classes should be tempted to leave their own sphere and their own callings, and consider a petty Government office as the summum bonum of existence. No measure indeed could be more degrading to the



independent spirit of a nation, than that the posts of clerks and tidewaiters should have the character of an order of merit. We know how completely the independence of the French people has been swamped by the legion of small civil posts in the gift of the Minister, and in the East Indian community we have another notable instance of the degeneracy, which is the heritage of a race which has nothing but official servitude to look to, and the monopoly of suckling clerks, and docketting despatches. However the object of these voluntary examinations is different: they are correctly described, "as mere matters of business, and 'it is simply proposed to find out, and certify who are really 'educated for the duties of certain known positions in life."

We turn now to India. We have dwelt so long upon purely English subjects advisedly. We are of those who believe that the mother country furnishes the very best example to us, that the more Anglicized we are, and the less that we have of Anglo-Indianism, the better. In every measure we seek for the freshness of the English opinion, and not the prejudice of the Indian bureau. We really regard with pity those amongst us, who have never visited England for a quarter of a century, and who are as antiquated in their ideas as in their shirt collars. It should be the policy of Government to insist upon a furlough being taken by its servants after each decade, and on the veteran making his bow when he has served his time. It is positively as dishonest for a Civilian to cling to India after his term of twenty-five years is past, as for a lessee to refuse to vacate a house when his lease has expired.

Now as regards the subject of examinations in India, we have the great advantage of the example having been shewn by the Government of England. In spite of the inveterate nepotism of the upper ten thousand, and the deep-set corruption of constitutional Governments, the battle has been won; the qualification minimum has been asserted, and the competition maximum talked about. The necessity of a probational term after appointment, and the demand for increased proficiency at each grade of official rank, have been established, and specially in the Foreign Office, as regards attachés, and consuls. In India we have no permanent interests to combat, no electioneering services to reward: we have the pick of the native educated classes looking to nothing better than State employ: if Government will but prescribe the rules, there will be no trouble in carrying them out.

And as the higher offices of the State must in a conquered country be held only by genuine Englishmen, the Imperial Parliament have decided, that in the Civil and Medical Departments the annual vacancies shall be filled up by open competition of the flower of the English youth. Since the assumption of the Govern-

ment of India by Her Majesty, the Civil Service Commissioners, whose report as regards the Home Civil Service we have noticed above, have been entrusted with the duty, and we have their regulations before us.

No mere pedagogues, or Assistant Secretaries were consulted on the best mode of churning the intellect of England, and extracting its cream; no narrow "curriculum" was fixed, neither a happy knack of stringing together Latin Hexameters, nor a stupendous and instinctive grasp of figures and symbols, (which is one of the most wondrous gifts conceded to man) nor a facility of appropriating a foreign idiom and pronunciation, nor a power of philosophic reasoning, were to be the sole stepping stones to success: by a nice graduation, and careful valuation of each particular accomplishment, it was hoped to discover in what quarter could be found the good intellects, improved by good education. A limited number will be selected according to the number of marks which they obtain, and at the end of a year of probation they will have to undergo a second examination in the specialities of the service, into which they have been introduced. The subjects, in which they will be examined are four. I. Oriental Languages; II. History and Geography of India; III. General Jurisprudence and Indian Law; IV. Political Economy. Those who pass this second test, and have reached the age of 24, and satisfy the Commissioners as to their being of sound bodily health, and good moral character, will be admitted to the Civil Service of India: one only omission is that every candidate should have to pass through a Riding School.

The second test will be applied from the present year, but already numbers have arrived who have passed the first test only, and present a marked contrast to those who came out under the old regime. No impartial person can doubt as to the success of the scheme. Though not born in the purple of Leadenhall Street, or sprung from the loins of a Director, we admit in our own case the original sin of nomination, and we regret it. We could have wished to have deserved, as well as to have borne off, the palm. We look with unmixed satisfaction on the

"Juvenum recens

"Examen, Eois timendum

"Partibus"

and of the detractors of the new birth, and the fond regretters of the old families, we ask;—"cet sang etait il si pur"?—is there any virtue in a clique of relations spreading over a country? Look around, and mark how some families have sat down like locusts, on a province, how every official change indicates a move on the family chess board: even the miserable pawns, which were only

meant to be taken off, are pushed forward into places where they never ought to be, were they not covered by parti-coloured knights, or smiled upon by queens. Are men the worse because they have graduated at the University, or been called to the Bar; because their intellects are strung and their faculties developed? Must India be governed by a succession of lads brought up under a coop, and thrust unfledged into the market, trained in the narrow groove that suited the views of the examiner or the trainer, instead of the broad groove of the intellectual education of the day?

Under the old system it was a strange sight that met the gaze of the youth, whose career was suddenly diverted from the great arena of the English world to the narrow path which is trod by the Indian Civilian? What a strange collection of half-men half-boys were assembled at the India House to undergo, what appeared to a public school boy a farce, but to many there present was a serious passage of arms? They appeared with their trainers, and knew a little of everything. Then came the more lengthy farce of Haileybury, where men were by courtesy styled "Highly Distinguished," who certainly have never been considered so since. Lastly the mockery of the College of Fort William, which was only passed when the student had become indebted to every Calcutta tradesman: he then proceeded up-country, and found to his surprise, that he had every thing worth knowing to learn.

And perhaps (but we write doubtfully) those who have thus entered into the land of Goshen by their own merits, by the test of election, will be inclined, as far as in them lies, to war against the prevailing sin of the age, nepotism. They have tasted themselves of the sweetness of bread earned by their own labours, let them not deny it others. It seems so just to provide for relations, forgetting that it is well to do so from your own resources, but not at the expense of the public: this is the weak side of most men, but we have no patience with those, who exercise their amiable feelings of pity, charity, and general benevolence at the cost of the people, while the credit attaches to themselves. The evil is known in many phases. A late Commander-in-Chief openly stated, that the patronage of the Army was his private property, forgetting that it was a trust. A late Governor in his farewell address said that he had never attended to the claims of patronage, yet his warmest admirers admit, that they could not have said so for him: he used to say that it was not an abuse of patronage to provide for relations, if they were fit: but are they fit? that is the rub. As it is now, with each new local potentate up springs a new clique of relations: sons and daughters marry, and the Gazette notes the

fact, as well as the column of domestic events : men get promotion, because their wife is sister to the wife of some body at Headquarters—degrading for him, if he has any proud feeling of self-esteem, and depressing for the enthusiastic and hard working man who has no friend at Court. At one time every body in a locality answered to the name of “Mac :” at another time you might fancy, from the prevalence of the Doric idiom, that you were in Tipperary.

We write not as those who have a grievance, who have been disappointed in the battle of life, and therefore look at snug family arrangements with a jaundiced eye ; but at the commencement of a new system, we write deliberately, that there should be a self-denying ordinance : if there is any merit in Government from home, it should be to destroy class interests, to place Trojan and Tyrian on the same level, to polish by instruction, to test by examination, to promote by merit ; to eliminate the fool, the dotard, the worn out, and hoist the flag of “Detur Digniori.” If a close service is allowed to continue, it must be so, only because it is fit to do so. Recruited by competition, kept up to the mark by periodical tests, encouraged by judicious patronage, it should be weeded by the compulsory removal of those who are fit for nothing, the very halt and lame of the profession. Pity them not. Every profession abounds with such men, but they do not bear the light—they shrink away into obscurity. Who pities the high and dry Divine, the bloated half-pay Captain, the briefless Barrister ? We have swept away the sinecure, but left the men eminently calculated to fill such posts, and no other : out of every ten there is at least a third “fruges consumere nati,” and we have heard a Governor express the very great difficulty which he had to provide for such men. The Punjaub has flourished, because the system of Government is strictly eclectic, and because the Governor was strong enough to eject every man who failed to maintain the required standard, and because he had then an abyss into which he could plunge his rejected, namely the Agra Government, and the native line regiments. How matters will now be managed, we are anxious to know, when each factory will have to consume its own smoke ?

Vested rights are no longer spoken of, and there is a subdued feeling on the subject of the claims of seniority. Matters are changed since the time of that famous Civilian, who offered to compromise with the Court of Directors, and take £500 per annum to do nothing in England, instead of £1,000 on the same terms in India, thereby being a manifest benefactor to the people of India. But in truth we believe that the time is come to throw open the service entirely : it is not wise to make another

close guild, and shut out men of mature intellect, and approved capacity in other walks of life, who find that India is their calling. We instance especially barristers who have acquired the language, and merchants, but there must necessarily be a limit with regard to age, and, as is the case in the English offices, such an appointment must be made very deliberately, on certified qualification. To those public servants who have a real interest in their duties, how welcome would be the co-operation of men with wider experience, more special knowledge, and enlarged English views! For one class of public servants the new order of things will be fatal: we allude to the present uncovenanted employés, who are for the most part educated in this country, or East Indians by birth. They have helped to raise a storm, and will be caught in the whirlwind: as long as the ranks of the Civil Service were recruited by patronage, and as long as seniority kept all to a dull level, there was room for a grievance, and a semblance of liberality in the proposition to substitute alleged efficiency for certified inefficiency. But the class of men whom every ship now lands in India, owe nothing to favour:—they are strong on the very points in which the uncovenanted thought themselves strong, and strongest where the uncovenanted are necessarily weak—in the advantages of English education. If these men are kept up to their promise by periodical tests, and promoted by merit, it will be a hopeless task to compete with them, and the more that India is governed from home, the more numerous will be the supplies of men qualified for employment. As yet the value of the appointments, and the nature of the duties, are but imperfectly appreciated in England: the cotton of the Company's bales still sticks in our beard, and socially the Indian employé has to yield to his brothers in the English Bar or the Church, though the advantage is on his side as regards income. But this cloud will soon clear up, and things will appear as they really are.

In the dawn of life what visions float before the youth, at that halcyon time when his intellect is expanding, and the treasures of his mind are being unlocked! The world with all the good things, to be dug out by perseverance, to be ravished by talent, and proudly won by success, is at his feet. At one moment float before his fancy the quiet and lettered retirement of the manse, the porch covered with honey-suckle, the loving helpmate—*his* in his youth before years have added to his material wealth, but diminished the intensity, the foolishness, of affection, for we love not in after life, as we loved then:—a vision rises before him of children, like olive branches round his table, his pride, and his care; of labours of the week among his people in their homes, or in the church on the Sabbath; of

a quiet, world-forgetting path, leading under the shade of trees to happiness and to God.

Or he may labour to win applause in the senate, or gain a name in the Forum—dearly, sadly bought: how many an hour of hope deferred, of drooping melancholy, of painful labour, of penurious want! but all forgotten. No—all friendly, thankfully remembered, when the name is won, or the eye is closing in death. Or he may abandon his native country, and go forth, as many have gone before him, to rule people and subdue them, to spread England's arts, and England's laws, and England's virtues. Thrice happy! could he but appreciate at its real value his own glorious vocation! We read in Tacitus, and in Cicero, of those Romans who abandoned the smoke and wealth of Imperial Rome, let fall the toga from their shoulders, flung the pilum from their hand, turned their backs on the Baths and the Circus, and went forth to rule the Daci and the Egyptians, the dwellers on the far Euphrates and the Orontes; who bridged streams and composed the strife of nations, taught subject peoples to bow to the rod and find it a blessing. To have done thus, and died immaturely, was better far than to have spent long days lolling in the Biga down the Alban Way, or drinking wine before sunset at Tibur or Baiæ!

Such are they who now labour in India. They envy not those who fill at the curule chairs, or return home exalted by bloody triumphs; for their profession is to be missionaries of order and peace. From their earliest day they learn

Certare ingenio, contendere nobilitate,  
Noctes atque dies magno certare labore,

Ad summas emergere opes, rerumque potiri.

From their youth upwards they are in possession of that amount of moral and material power over their fellow mortals, which falls to few in Europe. Power, patronage, the means of favour and disfavour, are thrust into their hands under such circumstances, and over a people socially and politically so widely separated from themselves, that the meanest is never tempted to use the sacred trust to his own paltry benefit, and the more enlightened are able to indulge in the proud ambition of striving to be the benefactors of their species; for the elevation of their position enables them to look on power from a philosophical point of view, and to desire it for no other purpose than to be of use to their fellow men, and no longer, than, when that advantage can be permanent. Man—vain man—drest in brief authority, may indulge in capricious tricks, but such is not the case, when from the dawn of manhood to the period when the faculties commence to decline, that authority has been wielded, not as a thing desired, but as a necessity.

Thus is taught the art—the noble trade—of rule, the power of swaying subject millions, the faculty of surmounting every obstacle, of meeting every difficulty, from the clamorous strife of a petty village to the dismantling of an imperial fortress: thus is acquired the readiness to open out any question, the grasp of details, the self-reliance and proud confidence, that a man in the full power of his intellect can sway and rule thousands. While his contemporaries in England are rejoicing in horses and dogs, the youth, sent out to India, has already held a responsible charge, and tried his own metal: he has felt his heart melt with pity for unredressed woe, his ambition burn high, and schemes of benevolence, schemes of reform, develop themselves, which sooner or later it may be his to carry out. There are moments of depression, hours of sickness and sorrow, disappointed plans, unrequited merits, the feeling of insufficiency for such things: but on the other hand, even when yet in mid career, and unattained as yet the half-way house of life's journey, he can feel that he has done something, that he has left some trace in the sands of time, and that in some distant valley his name is quoted affectionately as a household word; that he has stood forth to hundreds as the representative of his nation, as the embodiment of a great idea, the idea of justice, the genius of order, that he has been the teacher of equality betwixt man and man. While those things are most valuable, he has tasted the sweets of a proud independence, has emancipated himself from the shackles of parental economy: his eye has glistened with the power of the stern order, the rapid execution, the tremulous obedience, the feeling of control over other and weaker minds, the superiority of the intellectual and educated being over his fellow creatures, savage, and unrefined.

Many have fallen by the roadside; though strong and eager for the fight, like young Malcolm they have perished early, and sleep in some forgotten grave, marked by some voiceless obelisk: they were of the same English seed, but their flower was not given to blossom. Others have spent the best of their lives, and then fallen, as they were about to enter into their reward. Sleep they soundly, for their work is done; at the great Judgment seat it will be known whether they have judged the folk righteously who were prostrate at their feet, whether they allowed mercenary feelings, or prejudice of nation, prejudice of caste, prejudice of dogma, to warp the pure dictates of justice, whether they mistook their duty, and allowed self to obscure them from the people whose interests were confided to them. Round us, as we advance, the battle field of life is strewn with the memorials of the departed. By that trophied urn lies he who was embalmed in the conventionally expressed regrets of the Govern-

ment: beneath that thorn-covered mound sleeps one who made his solitary moan in the jungle, full of noble promise which it was not his to fulfil. Busy memory recalls to us, as we write, the assassin's blow at Delhi, the beleaguered hospital at Lucknow, the stream where, with his young wife and infant child, fell poor George Christian: the solitary outhouse, where Englishmen solemnly shook hands, and were led out to be shot like dogs: the nameless sack at the bottom of the ocean.

Some few, strong in purpose and frame, climb to the summit, and grasp the sceptre of Government, because no Lordling from England happened to be available at the moment, or because the post appeared too dangerous to be pleasing. But to them the elevation has proved to be a burden too heavy for them to bear, a vanity and vexation of spirit, ending in an untimely retreat, or an immature grave. Some return home, their labours done, the work of their lives exhausted, and find their contemporaries, their school friends, still on the lower rounds of life's ladder, as rising advocates and promising divines, and life appears to have moved snail pace at home, while in India it has advanced with the speed of a Railroad. They return home to wile out the remnant of their days, the residue of their faculties, ingloriously at the London club, or obscurely in the Highland valley: but often and often, in dreams of the day and dreams of the night, will they live over their past lives, and think of the dark people whose fortunes they have swayed for good or for evil, will regret much that they omitted to do, and much that they might have done better, and long for renewed vigour and fresh youth to devote to the same cause.

One man—one only—has in these last days retired amidst the plaudits of England and India, and as on the eve of his departure the great Proconsul was about to resign his Dictatorial wreath, he received from his fellow labourers an ovation, far transcending the vulgar strut up the Sacred Way, or the blood-stained triumph of the Capitol. He had no more favours to bestow, no more patronage to dispense, but he was the pilot who had weathered the storm, and he deserved the acknowledgments which he received. There he stood, firm on his legs, square in his shoulders, dauntless in his aspect, built in the mould of a Cromwell, ready to look friends or foe in the face, incapable of guile, real or implied, and yet so strong in his simplicity and straight-forwardness that he was not easily deceived. Age had silvered his hair and dimmed his eyesight, since thirteen years ago we met him as he crossed the Sutlej, but nought had been diminished of his energy, or of his firmness of purpose. Good fortune, and a wonderful coincidence of events, had seconded his exertions, and rising from the ranks of his profession he had in



his own rough way carved out an European reputation, received every honour which a citizen could wish for, the great Civil Order of the Bath, and the thanks of the Commons: but amidst the applause of all parties he had not contracted one spark of conceit. Elevation had not spoilt him.

He was equal to all things—a good man and true, who did the work that was set before him, strongly and thoroughly; who, when experience failed, drew on his own judgment, trusted to his own firmness, and was never found wanting. Indomitable in adversity and restrained in prosperity, he has left the Republic a train of followers, who are proud to be deemed of his school. In the United States such a man would have been President of the people; in England, had the aristocratic element been less exclusive, he might have been like the elder Pitt, a great War Minister: in the Middle Ages he would have carved out a kingdom. He knew and remembered after a lapse of years the minutest details of one administrative system, still he grasped, and at once adopted, the general view of a subject which so many bureaucrats miss. Unrivalled in rapid despatch of business, he never tolerated delay in others, but he knew when to relax and when to slack the rein, and he was the master, not the slave of his work, and never sacrificed ends to means. So great was his prestige, that all, military or civil, older or younger, tendered to him the willing homage of obedience. He rose to ennoble the last years of the rule of the Company, as if to prove that the system of nomination could by chance produce a man, as a set off to the scores of dullards with which India had been oppressed: he all but effaced the stain on the Company's shield, that during a century of rule she had never given one servant to take his place for Indian services among the hereditary senate of his country.

Such men have been. And doubtless circumstances will produce many such another, for we have confidence in the English character, and especially in India no sooner is the want felt than the right man appears. It is a highly honourable feature of the Indian services that so many individuals have devoted themselves with success to scientific, literary, and antiquarian pursuits: in Botany, Numismatology, and Philology we have had worthy representatives, and such labours are highly to be encouraged; but when individuals devote their whole time and talents to such studies, and neglect the prosaic duties for the discharge of which they are paid, we have no hesitation in saying that they depart from the strict path of honesty. There have been some notable instances. Col. Sleeman narrates that a Magistrate, wishing to find time to translate the "Henriade" into English verse, directed his police not to send in any reports: this must be an ex-

treme case, but we have always considered that it is fatal to a Civil officer to have a taste, and it is proverbial that a man who plays the fiddle goes sooner or later to the bad.

We now proceed to notice the famous "Scorpion Rules," which, originating in Bengal, (to the surprise of every body as it was credibly believed that no good could arise from that quarter,) have spread over the whole of British India, and have been productive of the most satisfactory results. To their introduction there were many opponents, and many doubters, and among others a late Lieutenant Governor of the N. W. P. to the last disapproved of them, under the idea that many excellent officers would fail to pass the standard. By a singular coincidence the same Gazette which announced his death, published the new rules to the world. His views were founded upon a mistaken idea of the nature of the examination. It was intended to be, and is, strictly professional, without room for book learning, pedantry, feats of memory, or mere cramming: the best practical proof of the suitability of the rules is, that in the long-run all have passed, and the best proof of the advantage to be derived therefrom is, that the men of the last ten years are better grounded, and better officers, than those of the preceding period, however inferior they must be, owing to age and education, to the recruits under the new regime. There was a good deal of jibbing, and refusing the collar at the first start, but all take to the draught now, and as there are two standards, it has been necessary to restrain parties from passing both at once. Promotion is, or ought to be, regulated by the report of these examinations, and if a man wishes to distinguish himself above his fellows he now has the opportunity. We maintain that, with rare exceptions, the first boy at school is the first throughout life, supposing that he has won that position in fair fight over worthy rivals: for what led him at school to contend for honour, but that feeling immortalized by Homer of always desiring to be the best, and that feeling, if not allowed to be choked by the good things of the world, or trampled out by neglect, will not desert him. It has been justly remarked that no doubt self-tuition is sufficient for great minds: what great men conquer for themselves nourishes the mind, the rest is but lumber. But it is a palpable error to suppose that all will educate themselves: the majority, who range about mediocrity, have to be educated by force; thence the necessity of stimulants, of periodical refreshers, and here we find the justification of the measure for continuing the period of pupilage far into manhood.

The last paper noticed at the head of this Article relates to a tentative process, which has not yet obtained the force of law: it is the natural and logical deduction from what we have des-

cribed above as the practice of England and India, it is the last link of the chain. It has been either purposely misunderstood, or hastily condemned, and has been classed with certain other measures of an unpractical and pedagoguish character. When a man hires a cook he certainly requires that his dinner should be served up properly, and, if that test fail, no feelings of benevolence would induce the master to keep the servant: when a particular weapon is introduced in the Army, soldiers are placed in a school, and required to obtain a proficiency in its use, and promotion, or reward, fall to the lot of the most proficient. The printer would not keep a devil who could not do the work of his craft; the tradesman would not keep a shop-boy, or the merchant a clerk, unless he were fit and continued to be fit. Already the Government are at a disadvantage as regards individual members of the community; for if an employé is dismissed from a private situation, there is nothing for it but to look about for work elsewhere, but if the Government exert such a power, there is a howl set up by interested parties, as if some prescriptive right had been acquired. It is notorious that Government is less well served than private concerns, in spite of regular salaries and pensions, and the delays and inefficiency and often gross carelessness of public employés are a favourite theme of comment. And yet when attempts are made to secure the introduction of fit men, to train and instruct those already in service, to weed out incapables, a cry is raised against that movement also. So inconsistent and imperfectly informed is the public, that it appears as useless to try and impress clearly on minds pre-occupied by interested prejudices, the objects of the movement, as to write distinctly on paper which has been scribbled over with a pencil, and yet the system which we advocate is founded on human interests and human sympathies.

Be it always recorded in praise of native candidates for employ, that as an educated class they are superior to the European or Eurasian of the country: while an English clerk cannot express himself correctly or simply in any letter, so that all heads of departments have to draft their own letters on the commonest subjects, the native clerk of the lowest stamp can read and write correctly one, if not two, languages, is well versed in arithmetic, and can write from dictation, and draw up grammatical, and even elegantly expressed reports. There are certain classes who live by the pen, and who from tuition at home or at school arrive at this stage, and if employed in a Government office will keep at this stage for the whole of their lives. As to general education, literary tastes, expanded notions, they have them not, but to a certain extent they form a guild, and it is not easy for a stranger trained in another groove

to find a place among them. This is the real impediment to the introduction of the Christian element among the native employés, as the acquirements obtained in Mission and Government schools, are impractical: there is no question about religion. The Hindoo and Mahomedan sit side by side, and so might the Christian, if he were only fit: in the English offices he is generally to be found, but in the vernacular rarely.

A guild, once formed of the literary classes, has a tendency to perpetuate itself and exclude intruders. The sons and nephews of public employés arrive soon at the minimum stage, and have lived from the earliest days among officials: when vacancies occur, they are pushed forward, and, as the European officers are constantly being changed, certain families or cliques became all powerful, and the real masters of the position. Perhaps every ten years comes a clearance—a feud springs up betwixt two rival factions, who carry out an internecine war, or things get too bad to last, or some reckless reformer makes a clean sweep: after a short time the waves close in again, and, as there is no understood system of promotion, no legitimate test of proficiency, matters become very much as before. Trains of employés follow officers from district to district; the relations of patron and client become established, and men, ejected for gross misconduct in one district, without difficulty secure employment in the next.

The appointments held by natives in the Civil Department, are very numerous and very much coveted, as they are considered to give a status in society, and *certainly secure* regular pay, a certain degree of power, and a pension; longing eyes have been cast upon them by the Educational Department, who would gladly make them the prizes of their Colleges, and by the Missionaries, which we very much regret, as tending to throw a doubt upon the purity of motive of converts. Up to a very late period not only has there existed no rules as to the disposal of this patronage, but no books from which candidates could obtain elementary knowledge so as to enable them to secure a footing, or more particular knowledge so as to justify promotion. This want has now been supplied, and as regards the Governments of Agra and Lahore there exist a sufficiency of vernacular treatises suitable to every department of the public service. Moreover the spectacle of the European and native high officials being submitted to annual examinations, has not been without its effect: the Government in this have reversed the ordinary proverb of experimenting upon the inferior parties for the instruction of the superiors. No native underling can now object to those scorpion rules, under which the conquering race itself has smarted.

Individual attempts were made under the Agra Government to introduce professional examinations, by which some legitimate channel for promotion might be marked out, and a spirit of emulation roused. They were successful, graduated certificates of proficiency were distributed, a class of apprentices formed; those who were wise in their own conceits, were roused to some hazy idea of their own ignorance, and the general results were such as to justify the experiment. A blow was struck at nepotism and patronage, and, while official knowledge ceased to be a mystery, and the service was thrown open to all, a certain degree of independence was secured to the official, for while his conduct was testified to, year to year, by entries in the character book, his capacity was placed beyond doubt by his annually renewed certificate. We maintain that men are men all over the world, influenced by the same passions, led by the same prejudices, encouraged by the same hopes, controlled by the same fears and that, if Government wish to be well served, it must be careful in the selection of good agents.

The storm that overspread the provinces of the Agra Government in 1857, swept away all—the just and the unjust, the creature of favour, and the successful adventurer. Certificates of proficiency neither kept back men from rebellion, nor did they save their necks from the gallows: as a rule, the efficient servants of Government joined the rebels, the stolid fools remained loyal. Most lamentable fallings away are on record in every district, and compilers of vernacular treatises came under the sharp discipline of the Special Commissioners. Rebellion appeared to infect individuals like the small pox, or other epidemic, for those, who did remain firm, could no more explain why they did so, than those who rebelled. But in the provinces of the Punjab the seed fell into more favourable ground; the advantages of the system were appreciated by the most practical of Governors.

The examination enjoined is strictly professional. There are departmental Colleges for Engineers at Roorkee, for Surgeons at Agra and Calcutta, there are normal schools for the training of schoolmasters, musquetry schools for soldiers: the same is now recommended for civil employés. It is not proposed to open all posts to public competition, but to restrict selection to certain classes, which would be recruited annually by qualification examinations, to be held in each district. As in England, so in India, age, health, and character should be considered; neither caste, nationality or religion, have ever been either an advantage or impediment in the Civil Department, and whoever says that they have, is imperfectly informed. There should be two standards of examination, the ordinary, and the special, the

latter being modified to suit the particular department of the service, and all graduates of Government or missionary schools being considered to have passed the former. Thus would at once the object of all parties be gained:—the Government would be well served, merit would be rewarded, and honesty be considered the best policy, when nepotism and favouritism are put down. The legitimate demands of the educationist and the missionary would be met by granting a fair field and no favour, the lists being thrown open, and the secrets of the profession made known by means of vernacular text books.

The Civil Service Commissioners remark, that they appreciate the great advantage of an Examination not merely as a test of literary merit, but as affording an insight into the disposition and character of the party examined under a somewhat trying ordeal; and the opportunity afforded to a young man of distinguishing himself in the presence of his superiors, with whom rests the power of elevating his social position, is not one of the least advantages. Those who habitually search for talent, and delight in being the discoverer and promoter of intellectual ability in others, will not be sorry to be periodically made acquainted with the natural gifts and acquired attainments of their official subordinates: with the dullard, who has neither talent nor ambition, and for the unpatriotic official who tries not to develop or excite these feelings, we have no sympathy. Not only must the entry into the service be dependent on certified fitness, but promotion from grade to grade must depend upon similar conditions. To those who object or doubt, we say

Si quid novisti rectius illis  
Candidus imperti, si non his utere mecum.

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- ART. VII.—1. *Rig-Veda' Sanhita. Translated from the Original Sanskrit.* By H. H. WILSON, M. A., F. R. S. Vols. I, II, III. London: W. H. Allen and Co. 1857, &c.
- 2.—*India, Three Thousand Years Ago.* By JOHN WILSON, D. D., F. R. S. Bombay. 1858.
- 3.—*Ethnology of India.* By R. G. LATHAM, M. A., M. D., F. R. S. London. 1859.
- 4.—*Original Sanskrit Texts.* By J. MUIR, Esq., D. C. L. Part I. *The Mythical and Legendary Accounts of Caste.* London: Williams and Norgate. 1858.

WE have now before us the first half of the Rig-Veda, the oldest book known to the Hindus, and certainly one of the oldest books in the world. A Veda, in its strict sense, is simply a *Sanhita*, or collection of hymns. There are three universally received Vedas,—the *Rig*, *Sama* and *Yajur*. A fourth, the *Athava* or *Atharva*, is of more modern date and doubtful authority. These hymns form the *Mantra*, or ritual, and are the true *Veda*.

Besides these, however, Hindu writers attach to each Veda a class of compositions, called *Brahmunas*, chiefly liturgical and legendary, and, in the *Upanishads*, passing into the rationalized state, and becoming metaphysical and mystical. It would be difficult to find two sets of opinions more absolutely irreconcilable than Vedic Hymns, and Vedantic philosophy.

There is still another supplementary mass of Vedic literature, including philology, commentaries, *Sutras* or aphorisms, &c., the study of which, according to Professor Wilson, "would furnish occupation for a long and laborious life." But for the study of India, as it was 3000 years ago, no such formidable apparatus is necessary. It is found on examination, that the *Sama* and *Yajur* (and to a considerable extent the *Atharva*) are only recastings of the Rig-Veda, which contains in itself all the available data for the earliest Indian history to be obtained from native sources. Brahminical commentators and writers of later ages cover all over with a thick plaster of incoherent falsehood; and, except as to grammatical construction and translation into modern words, we are far abler to discover and understand what story these ancient documents tell than any of the Pandits. For we have to deal with questions of race, of language, of history, of chronology, and external influences; questions unknown, and therefore unintelligible, to the Hindu mind:—the *Vishnu Purana* sufficiently indicates how it deals with them.

The *Rig-Veda Sanhita* is a miscellaneous collection of hymns.

Each hymn is called a *Sukta*. The whole work is divided into eight books, or *Ashtakas*, or *Khandas*. Each *Ashtaka* is sub-divided into eight *Adhyayas*, or chapters, containing an arbitrary number of *Suktas*. The whole number of hymns in the Rig-Veda is about a thousand. There is a further sub-division into *Vargas*, of about five stanzas each, for convenience in committing to memory. This arrangement is altogether artificial. Another plan divides the whole into ten *Mandalas*, sub-divided into about a hundred *Anuvakas*. An *Anuvaka* may contain any number of hymns, from one to twenty. The *Mandalas* are assigned (six of them at least) to the same individuals, or to members of the same family.

Each hymn has a *Rishi*, or inspired teacher, for its author. Unfortunately their names are not usually mentioned in the hymn itself, but depend on the authority of an index of later date, which also specifies the metre, the number of stanzas in each hymn, and the deity, or deities, to whom it is addressed. We are indebted to Professor Wilson for an English translation of four *Ashtakas*, containing 502 hymns, or a full half of this celebrated Veda; and there is reason to believe that, with the exception of one or two disputed stanzas, the remaining half has nothing materially different. One name of a king however, or a country, or a river, may solve many interesting and yet undetermined problems; and therefore, until the whole is published, all that may be gathered from the Rig-Veda is not fairly before us. But these reserved points concern chiefly the antiquary and the historian; for the general reader, the mystery that covered the Vedas is a mystery no longer; and all that they contain stands out for public view in the common light of day.

Colebrooke's masterly analysis of the Vedas is the most valuable contribution to Indian literature that has yet been made. It is a model of accurate research, calm, sober thinking, and of a mind that will not be led away by tempting speculations. Some of his statements have to be modified, and his chronology, like that of all others dealing with enormous and conflicting falsehoods, is but guessing in the dark. But he walked with a firm foot and a clear eye through the quicksands, and has marked out the path most distinctly for those that follow. It is singular that an essay so remarkable should have attracted so little notice. In England the form was against it. A *catalogue raisonnée*, unless you can look at the pictures or the specimens, is very dry reading. Wilford's wild hobbies and the impositions practised upon him, Bentley's startling discoveries and assertions, the conflicting periods, genealogies and systems, which the Hindu accepts without misgiving, affected the English mind most unpleasantly. It grew weary of Sanskrit litera-



ture, barely tolerated its epics and dramas, was not to be excited by the genius and enthusiasm of James Prinsep, or the talents and accomplishments of Horace Hayman Wilson; and, in short, turned from it altogether to newer and fresher themes—to Layard and Rawlinson, and Lepsius and Bunsen; to the monuments of Egypt, the palaces of Nineveh, and the rock of Behistun; to recovered languages and contemporary histories older even than the Vedas: to sun pictures, and thought-flashing wires, which may yet bind the earth into a household;—to that giddy whirl of change and revolution, which has kept Europe for the last 80 years at fever-heat.

It is easy to understand why Colebrooke's analysis of their most sacred books failed to affect the Hindus. Being written in English, they knew nothing about it; and, if they did, they would not have believed him. Nothing, but the books themselves in a cheap form and in the vernacular languages, will open their eyes;—and then only very gradually, and with European help. From (what is called) the educated natives, help, we fear, is not to be expected. What force of moral earthquake may be necessary to upheave the apathy of the Hindu mind is beyond the reach of our calculus. The rail and the telegraph, the schoolmaster and the missionary, like the great powers of nature, are agents of slow and silent, but irresistible change. Can such change come suddenly? There is no Hindu who has not heard of the Vedas. The words, that sprung into being from the lips of Brahma himself before man was created, are enshrined in his faith, though they have passed away from his knowledge. Forbidden to the Sudras, from their rarity and high price inaccessible to the Brahmans, for that very reason they are the objects of a more profound and superstitious veneration: and if any thing can be supposed *à priori* to startle and excite all Hindustan, it is surely the announcement that the Vedas have become public property, and that Sudra, out-caste, and *Mlechcha* may read them at his will.

We purpose to help on this good work by writing down our impressions of what they seem to contain. These are formed entirely from the English version of Professor Wilson, which leaves nothing to desire. It is an intellectual luxury to read such a masterly performance.

The history of his translation is this. The text is taken from Dr. Max Müller's printed edition of the *Śuktas* of the *Rig-Veda*, with the commentary of *Sayana Acharya*. *Sayana* was a man of high station, and a deservedly celebrated scholar. He was brought up at the Court of *Virā Bukka Raya*, *Rajah* of *Bijayana-gar*, in the fourteenth century of our era. The first portion of his *scholia* on the *Rig-Veda* translates the original text into more modern

Sanskrit, fills up its ellipses, and narrates in detail any legend to which it alludes. In Professor Wilson's version the filling up of the ellipses is inclosed in brackets, and the explanations are given in foot notes, with Dr. Wilson's reasons for approval or dissent: so that the reader in every case has the means of judging for himself.

A carefully written and most valuable introduction is a guide and key to each volume—perhaps to ordinary readers the most valuable portion of the book; and a good index gives every facility for reference.

One slight improvement only we venture to suggest for a 2nd edition;—to put the name of the *Rishi* of the hymn at the head of each page. The translation has also been compared in whole or in part with other German, French and Latin versions; and there can be no reasonable doubt that it is a thorough, faithful, and accurate transcript of the original text.

Our task then is to give a popular and concise answer to the question "What is there in the Vedas?" That answer has been already given with knowledge and learning far above ours in Mr. Colebrooke's Essay, and in Professor Wilson's three introductions, as already stated. The Rev. Dr. Wilson of Bombay also, with that wisdom and readiness which distinguish him, has already laid the results before a Hindu audience; and in his seasonable and instructive pamphlet, *India Three Thousand Years Ago*, has gathered all that was certain from his two predecessors, and added much valuable and interesting matter of his own. It is a complete Hand-book to the Vedas, and deserves the widest circulation.\*

The results at which these distinguished scholars have arrived, will probably be new to many of our readers.

About most of them there can be no difference of opinion, for there is nothing recondite in the text of the *Vedas*. The *Rishis* are plain speakers: their language is broad of the broadest, and leaves no doubt of their meaning. Outspoken men were these old Hindus, and thoroughly practical in their dealings with gods and men. But they have no bowels of compassion for historian or chronologist; and leave their whereabouts (in time at least) in all but impenetrable mistiness. Un-

\* But *Place aux Dames!* All three must yield the pen to a lady. If any one wishes for a clear graceful and most attractive picture of the Vedic times, let him read Mrs. Speir's "Life in Ancient India." This beautiful volume, without making any parade of scholarship, is scrupulously accurate, and has the high sanction of Professor Wilson for its statements. Its field is much larger than the Vedas, embracing the code of Manu, the epic poems, the origin and progress of Buddhism, and other interesting topics, and its treatment of them all is spirited and elegant,—the hand of steel under the velvet glove. Though Mrs. Speir's "stand-point" is different from ours, it is only just to state that she has written a singularly able and delightful book on a very unpopular subject.

like\* their subtler posterity, however, they are wonderfully truthful and consistent, and have evidently no intention or inclination to deceive. Through the mist we now and then catch a glimpse of a familiar land mark. A name will appear unexpectedly, which leads to unexpected and startling conclusions. It is here that there is room for differences of opinion, and, in such cases, we have ventured to think and to judge for ourselves.

The problem is certainly not an easy one. It is of like kind with this:—Given the Psalms of David, to discover from *these alone* the manners, customs, religion, arts, sciences, history, chronology and origin of the Jewish nation; to classify the hymns too, and assign to each its time and author, with no other help than the heading to each Psalm, added by a later hand. Knowing, as we do, that they range from Moses till after the Captivity that is over a period of at least 700 years, the latter part of the task alone would demand all the resources of scholarship. It is true the Vedic hymns are ten times more numerous: but they are at the same time ten times more monotonous and full of wearisome repetitions, under which even Professor Wilson's patience gives way. In our sacred books the code precedes, and the history precedes, accompanies, and follows the Psalms. With the Hindus the code comes after the hymns, and has to do with a different stage of society; and the history never comes at all. Nevertheless the Vedas, with all their difficulties, throw a flood of light upon the origin and early state of the Hindus.

The people among whom the Vedas were composed, when first introduced to us, had evidently passed the nomadic stage. Their wealth consisted of cattle, horses, sheep, goats and buffaloes. Coined money, or indeed money in any shape was unknown. We meet with but two allusions to gold, except for the \* purpose of ornament. The Rishi *Garga* receives from the Rajah *Divadasu* ten "lumps" of gold in ten purses, or bags, (vol 3. p. 474): but, this was given as part of the spoil of a vanquished enemy. The other is, where Kakshivat accepts a hundred *nishkas* (of gold) from Rajah Swanaya, which Sayana (vol. 2, p. 17) interprets as "a certain weight of gold"; and, at p. 292, as a necklace! ●

In our Australian colonies, before the day of the diggings, a suitor's eligibility was estimated by his answer to the question, "How many ewes?" In the time of the *Rishis*, it was "how many cows?" The cow was the synonyme for wealth, fertility, and abundance. The sky is a cow; the clouds its udder, and its milk, rain. The earth (*Prisni*) is a cow, and its milk the food that springs from it. The cow was the pleasantest of all

thoughts to the men of the Vedas, the main burden of all their prayers. They begged for cows. They fought for cows. To have high praise, and an honourable place in the Vedas, nothing more was necessary than to give a *Rishi* a present of cows. The great Rajah *Divadasa* has four verses of laudation from *Garga* for ten horses, ten lumps of gold, a hundred cows, ten chariots, robes, and food. The holy *Bharadwaja* and his brethren give three verses and thousands of laudations to *Bribhu*, the carpenter, for his donation of thousands of cattle. (*Vol. 3, p. 465.*)

The cow was not only the translation of our word, 'money,' but seems to have been their medium of barter, corresponding to the modern Rupce. Thus (*vol. 3, p. 170.*) in reference to buying and selling, the *Rishi Vamadeva* asks "Who buys this, my Indra, 'for ten milch kine?" and thus it was that from gods and men the *Rishis* were always begging cows.

"*Janaka*, king of the *Vidhas*" says the *Brihad Aranyaka Upanishad*, "sat upon his throne." Then came *Yajnavalkya*. He said, "Why hast thou come, *O Yajnavalkya*? Is it seeking cattle, or subtile (questions)?" "Even both, *O king of kings*" said the *Rishi*" (*p. 212.*)

The cow then was to the Vedic Hindu, at once food and money. It supplied him with milk, butter, *ghi*, curds and cheese. Oxen ploughed his fields, and carried his goods and chattels. He preserved the *Soma juice* in a bag of cowskin (*Vol. 1, p. 73*); and the cow hide girt his chariot. (*Vol. 3, p. 475.*)

No idea of sacredness was connected with the cow; and it is quite clear, however abhorrent and revolting the truth may appear to their descendants, that in the golden age of their ancestors, the Hindus were a cow-killing and beef-eating people, and that cattle are declared in the Vedas to be the very best of food. We quote texts, which leave no room for a doubt.

"AGNI, descendant of *BHARATA*, thou art entirely ours, when sacrificed to with pregnant kine, barren cows, or bulls.—*Rig-Veda*, vol. 2, p. 225.

AGNI, the friend (of *INDRA*), has quickly consumed 300 buffaloes. *Vol. 3, p. 276.*

MAY PUSHAN and VISHNU cook for thee (*INDRA*) a hundred buffaloes. *Vol. 3, p. 416.*

Bestow upon him, who glorifies thee, divine (*INDRA*), food, the chiefest of which is cattle. *Vol. 3, p. 453.*

When the pious have recourse to *INDRA* for food, he finds it in the haunts of the *Gaura* and *Gavaya*.\* *Vol. 3, p. 163.*

Sever his joints (*INDRA*) as (butchers cut up) a cow. *Vol. 1, p. 165.*

What an amount of beef-eating is implied in a sacrifice of three hundred buffaloes!—the greater part, as usual, being devoured by the assistants. The cooking is very minutely and graphically described, in vol. 2, pp. 117, &c. Part was roasted on

\* Both are species of the Indian wild ox or cow.

spits, while the attendants eagerly watched the joint, sniffing up the grateful fumes, and saying 'It is fragrant.' Other parts were boiled in a caldron. There were vessels to distribute the broth; dishes with covers, skewers and knives; and, for daintier palates, the meat was made into balls. The queens and wives of the sacrificers assisted in cooking and preparing the banquet; which, on the particular occasion alluded to in the text, consisted of horse-flesh! All was washed down with copious libations of a strong spirit, made from the juice of the Soma plant.\* Rishi *Kakshivat* had in every way most unclerical propensities. He thanks the ASWINS most cordially for giving him a cask, holding a hundred jars of wine (vol. 1., p. 308); and Rishi *Vamadeva*, who was taken out of his mother's side, solicits Indra (vol. 3, p. 185) for a hundred jars of Soma juice. Rishi *Agastya* also, in a queer half crazy Suktā, (vol. 2, p. 200,) writes of "a leather bottle in the house of a vendor of spirits." These were the men that fought Alexander, the great Macedonian: after such a feast of the Gods, Indra puts forth all his might, and destroys the fiercest of the *Asuras*.

The notices of their social state and progress in the arts imply a high degree of civilization. They had roads (vol. 2, p. 256) and ferries (vol. 2, p. 37). They measured their fields with a rod. They had carriages and war chariots drawn by horses; and bullock carts and waggons. The carriage was of wood, with brazen wheels and iron rims and pillars. It had seats, (vol. 1, p. 175,) and awnings (vol. 1, p. 94), was 'easy going' and sometimes inlaid with gold. They wore golden collars, gold bracelets, ear-rings and anklets, and golden tiaras. Iron was in common use; and they appear to have been the first to discover how to turn it into steel. Porus gave 30 pounds of steel to Alexander, as a most precious gift; and it is said to have been lately found that the steel of the far-famed Damascus blades was imported from the Indus.

We read of iron (steel) armour (vol. 1, p. 153), of shining lances and helmets; of swords and javelins; arrows tipped with steel, and cuirasses inlaid with gold (vol. 3, p. 333). The defensive armour of the poorer warriors was stitched, or padded, (vol. 1, p. 83), such as was worn by the ancient Assyrians and Persians.\*

The grain most frequently mentioned is barley, or millet. They had weavers and rope-makers; and for the ladies there were needles and needle-work (vol. 2, p. 288). The *bhisty*, with "his skin-bag pointing downwards," brought them water; and grooms rubbed down their horses. The camel and the ass were known to them; and of wild animals, the lion, the wolf, the dog, the deer, and the wild cow. We read of herds of wild elephants

\* The modern jar holds three bushels!

(vol. 1, p. 175); but we have met with only one notice of a tame elephant, in connection with a King Mrigaya, or Mriga, an *Asura*.\* (vol. 1, p. 149); and there is no allusion to the use of the elephant in war;—a fact of considerable chronological importance. The first half of the *Rig-Veda*, it is also worthy of remark, knows nothing of Indra's elephant, or of Siva and his bull.

They lived in houses, strongly built and spacious. They compare the sky to a hall with a thousand columns (vol. 3, p. 348). They must have congregated in towns; and the cities of their enemies are mentioned very frequently: but it is singular and most perplexing that the name of any one city is not to be met with. There is but too much however of the darker features of eastern city life,—cheating, gambling, the abandoning of children, thieves, courtesans, and eunuchs. All these crimes the *Rishis* pass by with a calm indifference: but there was one crime for which they had no mercy:—cattle stealing. It provoked all their ire; and dire were their curses on the robbers.

Sea-going ships and navigation in the open sea were familiar to them, and merchants sailing for gain. But they do not appear to have been a maritime nation themselves. *Bhujyu*, son of King *Tugra*, sails in a hundred oared ship, and is rescued from danger, or from ship wreck, in some mysterious fashion, by the twin *Aswins*. If these “sons of the sea” were stars, it may mean that, being driven out of his reckoning by a storm, he steered home by their aid. *Turvasu* and *Yadu* also make a sea voyage, which is often mentioned as if it were something wonderful. In both these cases no country is named, and the localities (as almost everywhere else) are left in vexatious and perplexing obscurity. The legend of *Bhujyu* is sufficiently curious. We quote it in its most detailed form from vol. 1, p. 307.

“*Tugra* verily, *ASWINS*, sent (his son) *Bhujya* to sea, as a ‘dying man parts with his riches; but you brought him back in ‘vessels of your own, floating over the ocean, and keeping out ‘the waters. Three nights and three days, *NASATYAS*, have you ‘conveyed *Bhujya* in three rapid revolving cars, having a hundred wheels, and drawn by six horses, along the dry bed of the ‘ocean to the shore of the sea. This exploit you achieved, ‘*ASWINS*, in the ocean, where there is nothing to give support, ‘nothing to rest upon, nothing to cling to, when you brought ‘*Bhujya*, sailing in a hundred oared ship, back to his father's house.” The *Aswins* are now supposed to be the three stars of Aries, and are represented by a horse's head in the Hindu zodiac. This accords with the three-wheeled car given to them in the *Rig-Veda*

\* Professor Wilson calls this beast a “cervine elephant” and gravely asks whether it may not be the *Sivatherium*. Is not *Mriga na hasti* “the elephant of Mriga?”

(*Vol. 1, p. 96.*) The hundred wheels of the text are the hundred oars. Here we have evidently one of the first piratical expeditions on record; but while Jason had only one ship, Bhujya has three. It is further interesting, as showing that, in these primitive times, the Hindus had the courage to stand out to sea, and to steer by the sun and stars.

The Rajahs sent ambassadors to one another. There were "halls of justice," halls and chambers of sacrifice; but apparently no temples and no images. They had *sarais* (caravanserais) on the great roads, which were often infested with robbers. They had doctors and drugs of all kinds, under the special patronage of *Rudra* and the *Aswins*: and, for their amusement, they had puppets and stage exhibitions. (*Vol. 3, p. 185.*)

The social position of woman was considerably higher than it is in modern India. She is spoken of kindly and pleasantly, as "the light of the dwelling." The Rishi and his wife converse on equal terms, go together to the sacrifice, and practice austerities together. Lovely maidens appear in a procession. Grown up unmarried daughters remain without reproach in their father's house. On the other hand, we have a case of polygamy of the most shameful kind. *Kakshivat*, one of the most illustrious of the Rishis, marries ten sisters at once (*vol. 2, p. 17*); and, if the tone of female society is to be judged of from the wife of a Rishi, or from a lady who is herself the author of a *Sukta*, women, in those days, were no better than they should be.

A gallant, deep drinking, high feeding race were these wild warriors by the Indus. They rushed to the fight rejoicing in the "dust of battle." They made forays far and wide; and would have nothing from the gods short of a hundred winters. "Since 'a hundred years' says the Rishi Gotama, 'were appointed (for 'the life of man) interpose not, gods, in the midst of our passing 'existence, by inflicting infirmity on our bodies.'" (*Vol. 1, p. 230*); and many a cow must they have stolen, and many an enemy must have gone down beneath their lance, ere the hundred "winters" passed away. With lance and battle axe, shining helmet, varnished mail inlaid with gold, sharp sword, and war-horse in splendid trappings, are we not transported to the days of chivalry, to the knightly barons on the banks of the Rhine? And if high tournament be proclaimed and lists spread, and the high born maiden sits in her beauty, the prize for gallant feats of arms, would not words and deeds alike avouch the kin-ship of the East and West, the oneness of the great Indo-German races? But even so, we read, it was done on the banks of the Indus. "*Aswins*," says *Kakshivat*, "your admirable (horses) bore the car, which you had harnessed, (first) to the 'goal, for the sake of honour; and the damsel, who was the prize,

'came through affection to you, and acknowledged your (husbandship), saying, you are (my) lords." Vol. 1. p. 322.

This lady (allegorical by the way) was won in a chariot race; Rama wins Sita by the bending of the bow, and so Arjuna won Draupadi. Such cases, of course, were always (and must always have been) rare and exceptional: but it is strange and startling to come upon the most extravagant flights of mediæval chivalry reflected back from the Hindu Vedas.

The picture of Hindu life and manners, at the time of the Macedonian invasion, differs from ours chiefly in being more darkly shaded. The Hindu even then had degenerated; and the "Life of an Eastern King" on the banks of the Indus differed little in its shameful details from that of his modern successor at Lucknow on the banks of the Goomtee.

"The shameful luxury of their princes," writes Curtius (Lib. VII. 32) "surpasses that of all other nations. He reclines in a golden palankeen, with pearl-hangings. The dresses, which he puts on, are embroidered with purple and gold. The pillars of his palace are gilt: and a running pattern of a vine carved in gold, and figures of birds in silver, ornament each column. The *darbar* is held while he combs and dresses his hair: then he receives ambassadors, and decides cases, \* \* \* The women prepare the banquet, and pour out the wine, to which all the Indians are greatly addicted. Whenever he, or his queen, went on a journey, crowds of dancing girls in gilt palankeens attended; and, when he became intoxicated, they carried him to his couch":—and, if we are to believe his biographer, into such a vile sensual thing as this, the great Alexander was rapidly degenerating.

Turning to more important subjects, let us inquire what the *Suktas* have to tell of the religion and worship of the Vedic Hindus. The curious antipathy of the Hindu mind to facts, and its ignorance of the very elements of history and historical evidence, distinguish the Hindus from all other nations having a rich and cultivated literature. When such evidence is asked for, or any evidence for the truth of his religion, probably the answer of nearly every *pandit* would be, "Our fathers taught us, as their fathers taught them, that the Vedas came from the mouth of Brahma." Is it true then that the mythology and worship of the present day are identical with those of the Vedas, are derived from them, or closely agree with them? Let it be remembered that this is not a question of mere antiquarian lore, or literary curiosity. It may involve great results and momentous interests. Like the recovered Bible in the hands of Luther, the recovered and published Vedas may prove a fulcrum for effecting great and large changes in the popular belief—



the introduction to a brighter day. For the answer is, that they have so little in common, that they must be acknowledged in all fairness to be two distinct religions. Professor Wilson's calm and temperate statement on this point carries conviction with it : and we can vouch for its accuracy, so far as the first half of the Rig-Veda is concerned.

"We find" writes he, "a striking difference between the mythology of the *Rig-Veda*, and that of the heroic poems and *Puranas*. The divinities worshipped are not unknown to later systems, but there perform very subordinate parts ; whilst those deities, who are the great Gods, the *Dū Majores* of the subsequent period, are either wholly unnamed in the *Veda*, or are noticed in an inferior and different capacity. The names of SIVA, of MAHADEVA, of DURGA, of KALI, of RAMA, of KRISHNA, never occur, as far as we are yet aware. We have a Rudra, who in after times is identified with Siva, but who, even in the *Puranas*, is of every doubtful origin and identification, whilst in the *Veda* he is described as the father of the winds, and is evidently a form of either AGNI, or INDRA." With the single exception of an epithet *Kapardin* (with braided hair) of doubtful significance, and applied also to another divinity, "no other epithet applicable to Siva occurs, and there is not the slightest allusion to the form in which, for the last ten centuries at least, he seems to have been almost exclusively worshipped in India, that of the Linga or Phallus : neither is there the slightest hint of another important feature of later Hinduism, the *Trimurti*, or tri-une combination of Brahma, Vishnu, and Siva, as typified by the mystical syllable OM (a-u-m), although, according to high authority on the religions of antiquity (Creuzer), the *Trimurti* was the first element in the faith of the Hindus, and the second was the Lingam." Vol. 1, pp. 26, 27.

Who then were the Gods whom the Vedic Hindus worshipped ? There is no difficulty in the answer. They worshipped INDRA and AGNI. INDRA was the firmament, with all its phenomena. He alone held the thunderbolt, and was King over Gods and men. AGNI was the element of fire. All the other Gods were but manifestations, or other forms, of these two. The relationship is evident between Agni and the Sun, the *Surya*, or *Sura*, or *Savitri* of the Vedas, and a female divinity. But Indra also is frequently identified with the Sun ; indeed the 12 great deities, or *Adityas*, are but other names of the same deity, as presiding over the 12 months of the year. It seems strange in the face of so significant an inference, that most of the best oriental scholars, including even the iconoclast Bentley, agree in affirming that the division of the zodiac into 12

signs was long posterior to the time of the Vedas, and that the Rishis were familiar with the 27 *Nakshatras*. The *Adityas* most frequently invoked are *Mitra*, *Varuna*, *Aryaman*, and in a lesser degree *Pushan Bhaga*, *Vishnu*, and *Twashtri*. There is some discrimination in these attributes: but on the whole they are pale and colourless. Pushan watches over roads and travellers, Twashtri is the Vulcan or "smith" of the Gods. Slight mention is made of Vishnu: but we have the germ of the legendary "three steps," being apparently simply the rise, culmination, and setting of the Sun.

Among the inferior deities, the *Maruts*, or winds, hold the first place; and next to them, or nearly on the same level, the *Aswins*.

These are two, apparently twins or brothers, and sons of the sea (*Sindhu*). Sometimes, as Dr. Wilson notices, they seem to be the "precursive rays of the sun," at other times, perhaps the sun and moon as rising out of the sea; so that the Vedic Hindus evidently had settlements on the sea coast. They are almost invariably represented as having a triangular car with three wheels, drawn by *asses*—while their name appears to be derived from *aswa*, a horse, which would seem to identify them with the two horses of the sun. Altogether they are a perplexing pair: and the *Suktas* addressed to them are richest of all in legend.\* It can scarcely be doubted we think that they are connected with the primitive Hindu astronomy, which we shall afterwards notice.

Heaven, Earth, (*Aditi* and *Prisni*) and Ocean, are rarely invoked, and the Sun has comparatively few *Suktas*. Occasional laudations are given to rivers, especially to *Saraswati*: and this nature worship extends so largely as to embrace the cow, the wood used in the oblations, and even the *yapa* or sacrificial post. We had almost forgotten *Ushas*, or the dawn, to whom some of the most beautiful hymns in the Veda are addressed. All these deities are expressly declared to be "the progeny of the heavens and the earth" (vol. 1, p. 276). No mention is made of the planets: for *Brihaspati*, or *Brahmanaspati*, is not a planet, but "the lord of Prayer;" and the moon has not even a *Sukta*. The worship of the Vedic race is briefly but comprehensively described by themselves, (Asht. I. Adhy. I. Sukta 6.)

"The standers-around associate with (INDRA) the mighty

\* Their connection with Indra (Jupiter), their patronage of mariners, their twin-brotherhood, the two horses and stars found on their coins, identify them with the Grecian Dioscuri, and add much strength to the theory that the Greeks were an Arian or Persian tribe originally, as their language indisputably proves. The legend of Perseus is another link in the chain. It is singular to find an exceptional and eccentric worship prevailing in countries so remote as India and Greece, while it had died out (if it ever existed) among the parent stock in the vast regions between.

‘(sun), the indestructive (fire), the moving (wind), and the lights that shine in the sky.”

The religion of the Vedas, then, was nature worship, light careless and irreverent, utterly animal in its inmost spirit, with little or no sense of sin, no longings or hopes of immortality, nothing high, serious, or thoughtful. There was no love in their worship. They cared only for wealth, victory, animal gratification, and freedom from disease. The tiger might have joined in their prayers—Grant me health, a comfortable den, plenty of deer and cows, and strength to kill any intruder on my beat. “The blessings they implore” says Professor Wilson, “are for the most part of a temporal and personal description,—wealth, food, life, posterity, cattle, cows and horses :—protection against enemies, victory over them, and sometimes their destruction.” “There are a few indications of a hope of immortality\* and of future happiness: but they are neither frequent, nor, in general, distinctly announced.” “In one or two passages *Yama*,† and his office of ruler of the dead, are obscurely alluded to. “There is little demand for moral benefactions.”—(Vol. 1, p. 25.)

So merely fanciful, so wearisome and monotonous, so contemptuously irreverent, are the great bulk of their prayers (to Indra especially) that Professor Wilson can scarcely believe them to be in earnest. Take for instance the following hymn. It is addressed to the goddess *Anna* (*Anna Devata*, known in Bengal as *Anna Purna*), personified as *Pitu*, or material food, by the Rishi Agastya. (Vol. 2, p. 192).

1. I glorify *Pitu*, the great, the upholder, the strong, by whose invigorating power *Pritu* (Indra) slew the mutilated *Indra* (a cloud)

• 2. Savoury *Pitu*, sweet *Pitu*! we worship thee, become our protector.

3. Come to us, *Pitu*, auspicious with auspicious aids, a source of delight; not unpalatable, a friend well respected, and having none (but agreeable properties)

4. Thy flavours, *Pitu*, are diffused through the regions, as the winds are spread through the sky

5. Those (men), *Pitu*, who are thy distributors, most sweet *Pitu*, they, who are the relishers of thy flavours, are as if they had stiff necks (gorged to the throat?).

6. *Thy thoughts of the mighty gods are fixed upon thee*: by thy kind and intelligent assistance, (Indra) slew *Ahi*

7. When, *Pitu*, this (product) of the water-wealthy clouds (the rain) arrives, then do thou, sweet *Pitu*, be at hand with sufficiency for our eating.

8. And since we enjoy the abundance of the waters and of the plants, therefore, BODY, DO THOU GROW FAT.

\* We have not found these, except in the legend (for nothing is founded on it) of three brothers, called *Ribhus*, who for their meritorious actions were made gods—the germ of mountains of *Puranic* rubbish

† *Yama* is usually connected with the Yamuna river, and was perhaps worshipped there by a native tribe.

9. And since we enjoy, *Soma*, thy mixture with boiled milk or boiled barley, therefore, BODY, DO THOU GROW FAT.

10. Vegetable cake of fried meal, do thou be substantial, wholesome, and invigorating; and BODY, DO THOU GROW FAT.

11. We extract from thee, *Pitu*, by our praises as cows yield butter for oblations; from thee, who art exhilarating to the gods; exhilarating also to us.

In a similar strain the *Soma* plant is addressed, mixed up by some curious association, of which we have lost the key, with *Soma*, the Moon-god. This plant, (the acid *Asclepias*), is found only, according to Dr. Roxburgh, from the mountains of Mazenderan all the way to the Indus, and on the hills of the Bholan pass. *Viswamitra* passes the Sutlej and Beyas to gather it. It was bruised between two stones, mixed with milk or barley juice, and, when fermented, formed a strong inebriating ardent spirit—probably not very unlike whisky.

Herodotus, (Book I. 133.) tells us of a singular custom that prevailed amongst the ancient Persians. "It is also" writes he, "their general practice to deliberate upon affairs of weight, *when they are drunk*; and then, on the morrow, when they are sober, the decision to which they came the night before is put before them by the master of the house in which it was made; and if it is then approved of, they act on it; if not, they set it aside. Sometimes however, they are sober at their first deliberation, but in this case they always reconsider the matter *under the influence of wine*." This drawing their inspiration from the bottle, as a trait of national manners, is of the oddest. In other words they did nothing without drinking. Some traces of the same habit still linger among their English and Trans-Atlantic cousins; and it often happens, that nowhere do Ministers explain their policy more eloquently and more openly than at a Lord Mayor's dinner.

It appears that the *Rishis* of the Vedas introduced this custom, or belief, into religion. Indra and all the gods are every where represented as unable to perform any great exploit without the inspiration of the *Soma* juice, or, in plain English, until they were drunk.

"May our *Soma* libation reach you exhilarating, invigorating, inebriating, most precious. It is companionable, *Indra*, enjoyable, the overthrower of hosts, immortal.

Thy inebriety is most intense: nevertheless thy acts are most beneficial." (Vol. 2, p. 169.)

The adorable and powerful *INDRA*, partaking of the *Soma*, mixed with barley, effused at the *Trishadraka* rites, has drunk with *Vishnu* as much as he wished: the draught has excited that great and mighty *Indra* to perform great deeds. Thereupon, resplendent, he has overcome *Krivi* (an Asura) in conflict." (Vol. 2, p. 260.)

"Savoury indeed is this (*Soma*); sweet it is, sharp, and full of flavours: no one is able to encounter *INDRA* in battles, after he has been quaffing this—by drinking of it *Indra* has been elevated to the slaying of *Vritra*." (Vol. 3, p. 470.)

The stomach of INDRA is as capacious of *Soma* as a lake" (vol. 3, p. 60); it swells like the ocean. (Vol. 1, p. 31.)

"Thou mountest thy chariot willingly, INDRA, for the sake of drinking the libations. (Vol. 1, p. 139.)

INDRA, quaff the *Soma* juice, repeatedly shaking it from thy beard." (Vol. 2, p. 233.)

Again, in a curious conversation (vol. 2, p. 152), Indra and the Maruts nearly come to blows for the sacrificial food. He claims all. They demand an equal share; and *Agastya* (we fear heretically) decides in their favour. Hundreds of passages might be quoted to the same purport.

But not the gods alone drew strength from the *Soma*. From the same potent juice the Rishis also sometimes derived their inspiration. Garga tells us (vol. 3, p.) in plain terms "this beverage inspires my speech. This savoury *Soma*, drunk on this occasion, has been most exhilarating."

"Sages and saints," says *Viswamitra*, "drink together, with the gods, the sweet juice of the *Soma*." (III. 86.) But worse is behind:—a lady, named *Viswavara*, writes or sings a hymn to Agni, and offers an oblation, praying amongst other things, for the preservation "of concord between man and wife;" but listen to Avatsara's account of her, and two or three more of his brother *Rishis* (vol. 3, p. 311.);

"Swift is the excessive and girth-distending inebriation of *Vishwavara* (!), *Yayata* and *Matin*: they urge one another to drink: they find the copious draught the prompt giver of intoxication."

A practical business-like proceeding was this worship of Indra; and it is edifying to observe the easy terms on which deity and worshipper meet together. "Sit down, Indra," says *Viswamitra*, "on the sacred grass;—and, when thou hast drunk the *Soma*, then, INDRA, go home." (Vol. 3, p. 84). "Drink, Indra, the *Soma* that is effused for thy exhilaration," sings Rishi *Bharadwaja*; "stop the friendly steeds; let them loose: sitting in our society, respond to our hymns." (Vol. 3, p. 454.)

"Who buys this, my Indra, with ten milch kine? when he shall have slain (your) foes, then let (the purchaser) give him again to me. (Vol. 3, p. 170)"

All this is melancholy and degrading—god, worshipper, and the traffic between them. It is but a grade above the beasts, and surely cannot have been in earnest. The introduction of such a worship explains the Greek story of Bacchus, and shows that it was not a lie invented merely to flatter Alexander. This drunken worship, the reclining king, as Curtius paints him, borne to his couch by troops of courtesans after an orgy, like those at Lucknow, and wherever he went, so attended, and so surrounded,—realize and surpass Dionysus, Silenus, and the

**Bacchanals.** No worship ever mocked the skies, more miserable and contemptible than the religion of the Vedas.

The Soma juice then was *the* oblation, or libation, of the Vedic worship (the *Homa* of the Parsis); and allusions to it, or laudations, meet one in almost every page. Surely, if there be still question whether the Arians came from India or the Indians from Aria, the place of the *Soma* in their worship should suffice to set it at rest. What people in their senses would choose for daily oblation in their households, a plant in a hostile country, or far away to the North of Delhi, and of which the people of Bengal and Bahar probably, unless they were immigrants from the West, most likely never would have heard?

The worship of these old Hindus was very simple. As described in the *Suktas* (we borrow Professor Wilson's epitome) 'it comprehend offerings, prayer, and praise; the former are chiefly oblations and libations:—clarified butter poured on the fire, and the expressed and fermented juice of the *Soma* plant, presented in ladles to the deities invoked, in what manner, does not exactly appear, although it seems to have been sometimes sprinkled on the fire, sometimes on the ground, or rather on the *kusa*, or sacred grass, strewed on the floor; and in all cases the residue was drunk by the assistants.—There is no mention of any temple, or any reference to a public place of worship,\* and it is clear that the worship was entirely domestic: the worshipper himself does not appear to have taken any part personally in the ceremony; and there is a goodly array of officiating priests—seven, and sometimes sixteen—by whom the different ceremonial rites are performed, and by whom, the *Mantras*, or prayers and hymns, were recited." *Vol. 1, p. 24.*

The priests are thus enumerated in the text of the *Veda*.

1. Hotri.
2. Potri.
3. Ritwij.
4. Neshtri.
5. Agnidhra.
6. Prasastri.
7. Adhwaryu.
8. Brahman.

and the householder, who institutes the ceremony. Later writers introduce farther sub-divisions; and assign to each his share of the pay, computed on the supposition that the gift is a hundred cows. They name the proportion each is to receive, and assign each his particular part in the ceremony: but, as usual, differ irreconcilably about them. The Brahman, it will be observed, is only a priest like the others, and three of the other orders

\* The sacrificial chamber, or hall, was always in the house of the worshipper.

receive equal shares with him. He appears to have repeated the prayers, and to have been the *purohit* or foreman: and therefore on private and everyday ceremonies, where such a host would have been absurd, he alone did all that was necessary: and thus, with the invariable cunning of priestcraft among an unlettered race, he rose so pre-eminence. It is evident also that no one was forbidden to hear or read the Veda: for its hymns used at every sacrifice, were then the vernacular. We may notice here as a matter yet *sub judice*, that though five classes of men are repeatedly mentioned in the Vedas, there are no allusions to Sudra or Kshatrya; and that a like division into four classes prevailed amongst the ancient Persians; the 5th probably being captives, enemies and slaves. Arrian makes the number, seven; and it is easy, by taking in or leaving out classes and professions, to make them as few or as many as we please. The spirit of the *Veda* is fiercely intolerant to all of a different faith, or who did not conform to their ritual. The Rishis intreat Indra "to strip of their black skins:"\* but any thing like caste, in its modern sense, it utterly ignores. If such a system as caste prevailed in these ages, it is impossible that no allusion should be made to in full five hundred hymns, outspoken enough on other matters.

We are now in a condition to judge of the religion of the Vedas, and to trace its relationship to other creeds. The following tabular statement of the number of *Suktas* in the 500 hymns translated by Professor Wilson, addressed to each deity, sets their actual worship clearly before us.

Indra, ...	...	...	...	...	...	178
Agni† ...	...	...	...	...	...	147
Aswins,	...	...	...	...	...	28
Maruts,	...	...	...	...	...	24
Mitra,	...	...	...	...	...	17
Varuna,	...	...	...	...	...	20
Ushas,	...	...	...	...	...	11
Surya or Savitri,	...	...	...	...	...	5
Vayu, ...	...	...	...	...	...	6
Rudra,	...	...	...	...	...	3
Brihaspati,	...	...	...	...	...	2
Sarasvati,	...	...	...	...	...	1
Vishnu,†	...	...	...	...	...	2

\* One of the least pleasant phrases of the slang of our day, is "White Pandysm." Do those, who use it, know that the Pandies were originally as white as themselves, and had quite as much dislike to "a nigger?"

† None in the first *Ashtaka*.

This leaves less than sixty hymns for all the other and more fantastic denizens of their Pantheon. We have already seen that they also worshipped (whatever that may mean) "the lights of Heaven."

To scholars it is evident that this is nothing more or less than the religion of the Persians, when they first appear on the stage of history. A short extract from Herodotus will enable all our readers to judge for themselves. It is nature worship: not as yet hero worship; and (having no idols) not idolatry.

Herodotus writes;—"the Persians have no images of the gods, no temples, nor altars, and consider the use of them as a folly. This comes, I think, from their not believing the gods to have the same nature with men, as the Greeks imagine. Their wont however is to ascend the summits of the loftiest mountains, and there to offer sacrifice to Jupiter, which is the name they give to the whole circle of the firmament. They likewise offer to the sun and moon, to the earth, to fire, to water, and to the winds. These are the only gods, whose worship has come down to them from ancient times." Book I., p. 131. The deities therefore were the same:\* but the ritual was, in certain points, different. "They raise" he adds "no altar, light no fire, offer no libations;—there is no consecrated barley cake." "He brings the victim to unpolluted ground—cuts the victim in pieces, and, having boiled the flesh (how did he manage this without fire?) he lays it upon the tenderest herbage (the *kusa* grass of the Hindu). When all is ready, one of the Magi comes forward, and *chants a hymn*, which they say recounts the origin of their gods. It is not lawful to offer sacrifices, unless there is a Magus present." Book I., p. 132.

Now for a glimpse of a Persian at dinner. "The richer Persians cause an ox, a camel, a horse and an ass to be baked whole (on their birth-day), and served up to them. They are very fond of wine and drink it in large quantities." Herodotus, Book I., p. 133.

It is certain that there were two rival religions in Persia—the faith of Ormuzd and the faith of the Magi. Of the former Herodotus knows nothing at all; and yet the great inscription of Darius was already engraved on the rock at Behistun. The religion, which Herodotus writes of, was the Magian; and his informer must have been a fire worshipper.† He knew that, on public occasions, victims were sacrificed: but the domestic worship, and the libations there poured out, were probably concealed from

\* Herodotus confounds *Mitra* with *Myllitta*: but the important thing to observe is that *Mitra* was a Persian god.

† The clumsy blending of these two systems into one is sufficient proof that the Parsee worship, in its present form, is a corruption, or a forgery, of a far later date.



him. This would not be so surprising as his ignorance of the very name of Ormuzd—*Ahura-masda*, "the all-knowing Lord." But, with these drawbacks, if we had no other evidence, this alone would suffice to prove that the Hindus and Persians were of the same religion and race.

The Hindu mind, like that of the Persians, was peculiarly accessible to foreign influences; and their faith, so far from being fixed and immovable, has been, as we now know, in a constant flux from the time of their earliest records. We have traces of this in a class of gods (whom we have purposely left unnoticed) alien to the national habits of belief, and in sacrifices abhorrent to the simple ritual of the Rishis. The misplaced deities are *Ila*, *Mahi*, *Menu*, *Vayu* and *Nairitti*. The commentators know little or nothing about them; and whenever Hindu commentators are ignorant of the true explanation, as a mere matter of course they invent a false one. So where the Veda is silent, we have nothing to hope from them.

Up to this point we have been treading on safe ground, and noticing facts where is little room for difference of opinion. We now launch forth into the unknown, deeply sensible of deficiency in scholarship, and with little leisure for research. It may savour of presumption, so scantily provided, to bring forward opinions and conclusions at variance with those of the great body of oriental scholars, and which, if well founded, will revolutionize the prevailing ideas on early Indian History. But the days of angry controversy are ended: and, if our views are in the main well founded, they will lose little of their value with those best qualified to judge, because they lack the authority of a name.

Let us follow out, in the first place, the faint indications marked by the names of those antiquated and forlorn deities, coming from where nobody knows, and altogether out of place in the court of *Indra*.

The first is *Ila*, or *Ilita*. The Veda calls her "Ila of the hundred winters;" that is, very ancient. Sir Henry Rawlinson found on a tablet, now in the British Museum, a goddess called *Ili*, or *Bilat Ili*, "queen of the gods," with a list of 41 titles belonging to her. She was a Babylonian goddess.

*VAYU* has more frequent notice, and sometimes appears as identical with *INDRA*. At other times *Indra* is his charioteer. But, when distinct, it is easy to see that there is no fit place for him in the Vedic Pantheon. The haughty *Maruts* wait on *Indra*. *Indra* is their king, and *Rudra* their father. What relationship then is left for *Vayu*? Again we find a Chaldean God, whose name *Iva*, or *Vah*, is found in a royal family, ruling over "Ur of the Chaldees." The king's name is *Sha-*

*mas-Iva*, or *Shamas-Vah*, which (*Shamas* being the Sun) is very near akin to *Indra-Vayu*. This *Iva*, or *Vah*, too is the God of the winds or tempests, and a whirlwind, according to Sir H. Rawlinson, is "a wind of *Iva*." His emblem is a weapon supposed, on the same authority, to be a thunderbolt. A writer in the *Journal of Sacred Literature* for April 1859, suggests a connection between the name of this God and the *JAH*, or *JAH-VEH*, of the Hebrews: but we are expressly told in *Exodus* that the name *Jehovah* was not known to Abraham. *Jehovah* indeed is Semitic and has a totally different signification. Yet it is not uninteresting to find a *Yah* or *Jah*, transferred from *Ur* to *India*, and there, out of place, yet traditionally supreme.

Turning from gods to *Asuras*, we at once reject the etymology of the *Puranas* for that term. There are no *Suras* in the *Vedas* except *Sura*, or *Surya*, the Sun, and therefore no ground for making *Asura*, the negative or opposite of *Sura*. The word "*Asuram*" is translated by the commentator himself "strength" or "lordship." The enemies whom they hated were hostile neighbours or foreign invaders, whom lapse of time transformed into malignant demons. Thus the *Rac-hos*, or people of *Arachosia*, were turned into the fearful *Rakshasas* of the popular belief, and the Assyrians became *Asuras*. It will be observed that the relations of the *Asuras* and *Suras* were originally friendly. *Vayu* is even called "*Asura*" in the *Veda*. It was after a conflict or war that it changed. For *ASHUR* was a well-known and far famed God. But, allowing even the word *Asura* (the Persian *Ahura-masda*) to be of uncertain etymology, we find in the *Vrihad Aranyaka* (an *Upanishad* of the *Yajur Veda*) that the name of more than one of the ancient *Rishis* was the unequivocal "*Asurayana*."

There are three lists of *Rishis* given in this *Upanishad*, as usual differing from each other. We select a few names in which the first and second agree.

*Atreya* (*Atri*.)

*Bharadwaja*.

*Asuri*.

*Aupajandhani*.

*Sraivani*.

*Asurayana* and *Yaska*.

*Jatukarnya*.

*Parasarya* or

*Parasaryayana*.

*Ghrita Kausika*.

Eight descents above *Atreya* we come to the mythological *Abhuti Tvastvar* (*Tvashtri*, the *Vulcan* of the *Greeks*) and the

*Asvins*. Four descents downwards from Atreya we reach the Gotama, Bharadwaja, and Parasara or Parasarya of the hymns. Angiras is the son of Tvastar.

In the last of the lists we find the following order.—Atreyi (Atri) Gautami, Bharadwaji—Parasari—Varkkaruni—*Arta-bhaga*, but now removed by at least 40 descents from the *devatās*! What is to be remarked is that many of these are not the names of men but of countries. *Asuri* and *Asurayana* speak for themselves. *Paras-arya* is the Arian-Persian, or Parsi. *Kausika* is from Kaush or Kush in Aria; and the *Arta-bhaga* to our mind carries complete conviction. Herodotus writes that the Persians originally were called *Artæans*, from *Arta* (Herat); and *Bhaga* in the Behistun inscription, means lord or god: so that *Arta-bhaga* is, word for word, lord of Arta (or Herat). It will be observed also that Assyrian is before Persian in due chronological order.

The *Vedas* allude also to “strong built cities” “perennial cities” “stone built cities of the Asuras;” and, if these were in the air, Professor Wilson observes, that they could not be of much use to Divādasa and other mortal kings, to whom with all their spoil they were given by Indra. It is true that the term is applied to enemies in a general sense in the Vedic hymns; but we have to do with its original bearing. There is surely something also more than an accidental similarity between the giant Asura, BALA “the strong one” and the far famed Bel, or Baal: between the fierce female Asura, ANI, so often slain in the hymns, and the Assyrian and Babylonian goddess Ai: between the Vedic *Dakshina* and the Assyrian *Davkina*; and between the Anna of Babylon, the *Anna Perenna* of Italy, and the *Anna Purna*, still worshipped in Bengal.

Again Mr. Colebrooke finds in the 8th book of the Rig, the name of *Nabba-ned-ishta*, a son of Menu, not dwelling with his brethren, which has a startling resemblance to the Babylonian *Nabonid*; and yet the Nebo, or Nabo, dynasty is assuredly not older than Nabonassar 747 B. C. Taking all this in connection with the Greek and (according to them) the Indian tradition also of the invasion of Semiramis, now ascertained to have been the wife of Pul, and therefore later than 800 B. C., and allowing all these links to be more or less obscure, enough remains fairly and clearly to indicate a connection, friendly or hostile, and probably both, between Assyria, Babylon and India. Further, on the famous Kileh Shergat cylinder is read the name of a king, *Ashut-rish-ili*, who boasts of “having conquered all the Magian world.” Sir H. Rawlinson assigns him to somewhere about 1100 B. C.; and makes him the earliest Assyrian conqueror. But if these allusions in the Veda point

(any or all of them) to Assyria, it must be observed that they have already become vague and legendary. It will not be thought pressing the matter too far then, if we assert that probably gods and influences reached the Hindu race from Babylon and Assyria.

Not knowing the intermediate steps, we are led to Greece by the Aswins, and to Latium by Mena, whose legendary springing from Indra seems at least (etymologically also) to identify her with Minerva, springing from Jupiter. In one case at least we have the chain complete. *Anna* travels east from Babylon to India; west from Babylon to Phenicia, accompanies her sister Dido to Carthage, flies thence to Italy, and there, the *Anna Purna* of the Hindus becomes the *Anna Perenna* of the Latians. Such is the Roman legend. *Varuna* too, the sky, or hemispheric firmament, resting on the waters, has obvious analogies with the Grecian *Uranus*. To this god, singly or associated with *Mitra*, are offered the rare and perfunctory prayers for protection from sin, which appear in one or two of the hymns. Still no direct influences from Europe can be traced in the Vedas. Influences here would be too strong a word. They infer rather a common medium; and that *Mena* and the *Aswins*, *Anna* and *Varuna* were not (so to speak) indigenous.

The great horse sacrifice is allowed to have been originally Turanian, whether derived directly from the Sakæ, or indirectly from Persia and Media, where the "white horse of the sun" is an important element in a campaign of Cyrus. Mr. Atkinson found traces of it still lingering on the Southern borders of Siberia.

Niritti or Nairitti, the dread earth goddess, of whom terror and deprecation were the only worship, is all but certainly the evil goddess of the Hill tribes to whom the Khoonds still offer human victims. She seems thrust by fear, rather than adopted, into the Vedic Pantheon—the germ of the bloody KALI and the murderers' BHAWANNI in a day mercifully late, and to the Vedic men far away in the future. *Niritti* has an ugly look; but, so far as we can see, there is no sanction for human sacrifice in the Vedas. There is a legend, very early, but later than the hymns, of a certain *Sunah-sepas*, borrowed apparently from the offering of Isaac.\* A king long childless makes a vow, that, if children are given him, he will offer his first born to the gods. He found it hard to fulfil such a vow; and a Rishi *Ajigarta*, offered his son *Sunah-sepas* as a victim in the

\* Frequent allusions also are made to falling into a well, and being delivered, to which later writers have added features borrowed from Joseph and his brethren. The well and the well-born to us only metaphors for "trouble."

young prince's stead. The father himself binds the victim to the sacrificial post, takes the knife, and is about to immolate his own son, when *Sunah-sepas*, by the advice of *Viswamitra*, prays to *VARUNA*, and at the last moment is set free. Nearly all this, however, is mere invention. The hymn, in the *Veda*, (vol. II, p. 59,) supposed to be uttered by *Sunah-sepas* himself, does indeed represent him as bound with three cords to the "three-footed tree" or sacrificial post; but he prays that he may see his father and mother again, have much wealth, and be freed from sin; and refers obscurely to some change or failure in worship, which might have offended *Varuna*. The bonds, most probably, are but allegorical bonds: but we have little doubt that the imagery is drawn from real human sacrifices, offered by the wild tribes in the neighbourhood to *Niritti*, "with unfriendly looks," as she is expressly named in this *Sukta*. The legend may perhaps point to an earlier practice, which *Viswamitra* and his party set themselves against. A god named *Nairita*, of a fierce and evil nature, is said to have been worshipped by the *Sakæ*.

It appears, on the whole then, that there were two forms of worship in Vedic India; the one, domestic, universal, celebrated three times a day;—the other, rare and exceptional; but both blended by a compromise into one incongruous whole; and both gross, and sensual, almost beyond belief. The worship of the elements is clearly the national faith, with its offerings of the fruits of the earth—*Soma* juice, barley, milk and butter. Animal sacrifice is from without, corrupted more and more, and at last losing sight altogether of its original import, and coming to them perhaps from the wild nomads of Central Asia. The fair inference is that *Indra* and fire worship was the later form on Indian ground. The so-called aboriginal tribes sacrifice buffaloes and other animals: but there is no trace of fire worship among them. On the other hand the *Viswamitras*, or *Angirases*, claim the honour of having been the first to introduce the worship both of *Agni* and *Indra*, in various *Suktas* of the *Veda*. Whatever the *Rishis* may say, *Viswa-Mitra* was not the name of a man, but of a body of immigrants;—*Viswa-Mitra*, "the men, or people, of *Mithra*." Whichever had precedence in time, there they stand, face to face, *Cain* and *Abel*. But the seeds are mixed, and the living God forgotten. The one worships dead matter, until it becomes senseless as its stocks and stones. The other deifies *Satan*, imagines foul evil and bloody demons, and becomes bloody itself and foul and cruel, like its manufactured gods.

The origin of the first form among a rude people is easily to be found. *Monsieur Ferrier*, the other day, among the hills beyond

the Cabul river, shall tell us how it was ; though for the words within brackets we alone are responsible. He is describing a tempest, and using unconsciously almost the words of the Veda. "To the roar of heaven's artillery (*Indra*) succeeded the wind (*Vayu*) ; first in gusts (the *Maruts*), finally in a hurricane (*Rurda*), which tore up trees by the roots and carried them to a distance. Blocks of granite were hurled down the mountain side, and clouds of dust, earth and stones, mingled with moss and leaves, were whirled into the air, and formed clouds (*Vritra*), which added to the darkness, a deluge of rain followed the fearful features of this furious storm."—(*Caravan Journeys*, p. 247.)

Here we have all the details of that terrible fight, where *Indra* put forth all his might, destroyed the dark fearful *Vritra*, and let loose the rain (the cows) to fertilize the land of his worshippers, and to give them wealth and food. It is represented as his greatest exploit in 18 Suktas.

Such a religion could never have had any heart. It was scarcely serious. The *Rishis* address *Indra* in the most disrespectful and indelicate terms,\* using comparisons much too coarse for our pages ; and it rapidly degenerated into wantonness, gluttony and drunkenness. It still lingers in Bengal in the worship of the bloody *Kali*, where all castes mingle together, and, after a libation of ardent spirits to the goddess, drink spirits, and eat flesh, as their fathers did in their golden Vedic prime. It is found also to this day in the foul and secret rites of the *Tantras*, too abominable for Christian ears. But what was then done openly and unblushingly is now done with the feeling of shame and guilt. Even this is progress.

It is not our purpose to narrate how *Vishnu* dethroned *Indra*, of which the germ appears in the later hymns ; how the foreign *Mahadeva* and *Bhawani* came in with the *Sakæ* ; how *Buddha* drove both before him, and reigned paramount in India for nearly a thousand years—he too probably a *Sakyan* ; or how *Vishnu*, *Brahma*, *Siva*, *Durga*, *Kali*, *Rama*, *Krishna*, *Ganesa*, *Kartikeya*, and a host of new divinities, prevailed over a better faith than their own about 1200 years ago, and enslaved and degraded the Hindu. Our business is with Vedic times ; and we turn now to another part of the field.

The *Vedas* in one sense contribute little to history or chronology ; in another sense, they lend invaluable aid. They remove

\* An example or two of the less gross will suffice. "Indra is strengthened by praises, as a horse by drinking water." He scatters his enemies, as "a horse scatters the flies with his tail ;" and, grumbling because part of the *Soma* juice was offered to the *Maruts*, he thus addresses a *Rishi*, "Wherefore, brother *Agastya*, dost thou, who art my friend, treat me with disregard? verily we know what is in thy mind: thou dost not intend to give us anything." (Vol. 2, p. 160.)

mountains of falsehood. The Greek writers testify that the Indians in their time were a truth-telling race; and there seems no reason to doubt this evidence. When a legend appears in the *Suktas* we take it for what it is worth; but when a Rishi tells us that a certain king gave him ten cows, and dwelt in a certain place, he may fully be trusted for the cows, and for the names of the king and the country. These are the postulates on which we rely; it is not taking very much for granted. Usually the hymn writers speak truth; universally their Puranic successors write, invent, pile up, delight in falsehood.

It is agreed that the Vedic Hindus call themselves *ARIANS*—a name perhaps related to *Hari*, the Sun. Indra, say the Rishis, has given the land to the Arians. Let it be remembered that as far back as the times of Darius Hystaspes, the early writers placed Indians on both sides of the Indus, and made India extend westwards fully to Candahar (Gandhara). The name was always India, from the Sindu or Indus, the great river of the country.

Aria proper lay west from India about the Arian lake latterly: but the Eastern Medes and Parthians were its distinctive people, "Arians of the Arians." Latterly Medes, Persians, and the tribes between the Medes and the Indus were to a certain extent amalgamated under one rule; and Ariana stretched loosely from the Indus to the Caspian Sea. Here is ground for ambiguity. But India beyond the Indus was always India, and was never called Aria by any writer, native or foreign. Yet the Vedic writes call themselves Arians; and hence a theory that the Arian nations come from Hindustan. Some will have them emigrants from the Gangetic provinces, from Behar and Bengal.

Is not this a parallel case? Norman Henry, or Norman Richard, says, "God has given this land to the Norman." It was truth; but Britain did not cease to be Britain, or England England; and the Normans were *not* a British race. Another race was in the country before these Arians, named by them in fierce contempt *Dasyus*, or "slaves." And they made slaves of them (the true "servile race" of Menu and later writers) whenever they could. What the Norman was to the Saxon, the Arya was to the Dasyu: but crueller and more implacable.

It is admitted also that the Vedic Hindus dwelt chiefly on the banks of the Indus and its confluence: as high up as Cashmere, as low down as Cutch and Northern Guzerat. "*Arya-vartha*" the Arian's portion, as defined even in later times, was the country "South of the Saraswati, and North of the Drishadvati." Professor Wilson more than hesitates, and Dr. Wilson refuses, to believe, that two branches of the Caggar (near Thanosur) an insignificant stream that loses itself in the

sands, are the *Saraswati* and *Drishadvati* meant. If so indeed the famous "*Arya-varṭta*" would be a little smaller than a small English county, a little larger than a large parish. In the hymn, (vol. 3, p. 504,) the *Saraswati* is described, "as breaking down the precipices of the mountains," fierce, mighty, vast, impetuous, overflowing her banks, "having seven sisters," as infinite, splendid, progressive,—evidently pointing to one of the great confluents of the Indus, and absurd, as well as geographically impossible, as applied to the Sursooty of the Caggar. To our mind, the *Saraswati* is most probably the *Ravee*, the ancient *Iraotes*, that is *Ira* (or *Arya-vati*;) and the name *Saraswata* is always and only given to the people of the Punjab.

We shall attempt to trace their Eastern and Southern boundaries, which were fast extending, as we find them in the first 500 hymns. Among the enemies subdued by the help of *Indra*, we find the great *Arbuda*, supposed by all scholars to be Mount Aboo on the *Aravali* hills. Another robber chief, destroyed by *Indra*, named *Kuya*(*va*), has two wives whom *Kutsa* (his conqueror) not very gallantly wishes to "be drowned in the depths of the *Sipha* river" and whose haunts are between the *Anjasi*, *Kulisi* and *Verapatni* rivers (vol. 1. p. 268.) In the U. K. S. Maps, we find a town still called *Kaya*, and in its vicinity the *Sipu*, *Bunas* or *Anas*, and *Kalindi* rivers, sufficiently identifying the locality of *Kuyava*, and close also to *Arbuda* or *Abu*. As the *Nerbudda* is not mentioned in the published hymns, they had not then crossed the *Vindhyan* hills. They had not reached *OUJAIN*, *Chittore*, or *Oodipore*, and the river *Chumbul* does not appear to be known to them. On the North, we have notices of the *Jumna*, *Sarju*, and *Goomti*: and one allusion to the *Gangu*. There is fighting on the *Sarju* between *Arian* chiefs: but they appear to have felt their way eastward, along the base of the *Himalaya*: and their silence is a significant indication that, though on the verge of discovery, the great *Ganges* was yet unknown, or that they knew it only in its northern course. They were *Punjabis*, *Sindians*, *Cashmirians*, *Guzeratis*, and *Delhi* men, if you will: but the kingdoms of *Magadha* and *Mithila* and *Ayodha*, transferred to the *Vedic* times, are mere MYTHS. The seat of *Vedic* power faith and learning was between the *Jumna* and the *Indus*: and all to the East of *Delhi*, or *Indraprestha*, lay north of the 28th parallel of latitude. In the time of *Seleucus* it had come down to *Patna*.

It is simply not credible that men should leave the fairest provinces of India to establish themselves on the *Indus* and the rivers of the *Punjab*. As soon as the *Arians* discovered the fertile valley of the *Ganges*, they rushed into it, as men rush to the diggings in our days. But that discovery was later (perhaps



but a very little later) than the Vedas. There can be no reason given, if Patna, Oude, Mathura, Allahabad, and Oujein, were the original settlements of the Arians, or were Arian cities at all, why the hymns and hymn writers ignore them altogether, and are found only in connection with the Sindu, Saraswati and Drishadvati (the Caggar). As soon as ever they had a chance, Hindu faith and Hindu literature floated down the Ganges, where the land was good and rest pleasant: and the Sindu and the Saraswati were deserted for a richer heritage.

Hindustan, in Vedic times may be thus described. Along its western coast dwelt races different from the Arians of the Vedas—earlier colonizers or emigrants, most probably from Assyria, who had a civilization of their own and “iron built cities”, and and with whom the Pharaohs and Solomon and Hiram and the Cushite Arabs of Yemen carried on a lucrative trade by sea. This people extended gradually down the coast to Cape Comorin; crossed over to Ceylon, and crept up the Coromandel coast, till stopped by the Godavery and Mahanadi.

All the Bengal Presidency and Central India was thinly and sporadically inhabited by a Tatar, Sakyan, or Mongol race, coming down from Tibet and Nepal. So sparse was the population that in the Veda, Agni is represented as “the general” of *Nahusha*, the first settler: that is, they cleared the ground by burning the forests: and some fine descriptions are given of the grandeur and terror of the sight. In the North West were the Arians.

After all we can but guess at truth; but when such guessing agrees on the whole with the known facts, it helps to give an intelligible and sufficiently definite idea of the general state of Hindustan, when the Vedas were being written.

For Arian India, one or two localities may be identified pretty nearly from the Suktas.

There is a Rajah Mandhatri, or Mandhati, in the hymns: there is a city, Mandhati, still near Delhi. If the city was named from the king, it would go far to prove that in his time Hastinapur and Indraprestha were not yet founded, for which also there is Puranic authority.

Again prince Bhuiyu, or Bhoojyu, the pirate, whom we have already noticed, is plainly the name, father of Bhooj in CUTCH; a nest of pirates in all time.

Among the many petty Rajahs\* (a confederacy of twenty is

\* The Vedic name is *Raja*. In the Persepolitan inscriptions, Xerxes calls himself *Nagua*, or *Nuka*—the Greek *anax* and there can be no reasonable doubt, that this is the true meaning of the *Naga* dynasties on Cashmir and Magadha. They were kings, not snakes. The turning *Nuka* into *Naga*, and then inventing a snake worship, which latterly may have become real, are quite Puranic.

mentioned in the Veda (vol. 1, p. 147,) one named Divodasa, called also Puru, is specially celebrated: and we may gather that his kingdom coincided pretty nearly with that of Porus in the time of Alexander. He is at war with Su-sravas, a King whose name occurs in the Raja Taringini, as connected with Casmere—perhaps an ancestor of the Abisares of Greek report.

We now turn to the Puranic account of the periods, dynasties, races, genealogies and kings of Vedic India. It looks imposing, minute and circumstantial. The two great dynasties of the Sun and Moon, branching off into separate kingdoms; the four ages of the world, with an accurately defined list of kings for each, and these lists so framed as in appearance to strengthen and support each other,—containing also the very names found in the Vedas, with an elaborate system of dynastic changes, of inter-marriages—all these, sanctioned as religion, and received with universal national consent, take the imagination by storm, and impose on the calmest and clearest reason.

It is only when it is found by nearer approach or unexpected testimony that this giant is a man of straw, that one wonders at one's own blindness.

The Hindu of the middle ages had an immoderate, incredible fondness for elaborate falsehood. The care and painstaking which they devoted to this purpose, fill the mind with amazement. Was there ever anything elsewhere in this wide world like the *Raghava Pandavya*? What was the *Raghava Pandavya*? Colebrooke shall tell us. "This extraordinary poem" writes he, "is composed with studied ambiguity; so that it may, at the option of the reader, be interpreted as relating the history of Rama and other descendants of Dasaratha, or that of Yudish-thira and other sons of Pandu." The example of this singular style of composition had been set by other writers: but none like Cauraja "told *two* distinct stories in the *same* words!" We take a single sentence as a specimen. It may be translated,

"Succeeding in youth to the kingdom of his variously valiant father, who departed for heaven, he dwelt happily in the city of *Ajodya*, which was adorned with elephants, and upheld the prosperity of his realm."

OR

"Succeeding in youth to the kingdom of his father *Vishnurvira*, he dwelt happily in the peaceful city of *Hastinapura*, auspiciously inhabited by *Dhritarashtra*!"

The Sanskrit verse will be found in Colebrooke's *Essays*, (vol. 2, p. 100:) and so the poem goes on from beginning to end.

The men that could contrive, and the nation that could appreciate, such perverted efforts of the imagination, were worthy of each other. In such a soil only the *Yogas* and genealogies of the *Puranas* could take root, and grow up to Heaven. All this

mass of names and dynasties and ages is nothing else than audacious falsehood and invention, the little leaven of truth contained in it being the names of a few Vedic kings, stuck here and there apparently at hap-hazard, which, because they represent truths, suffice of themselves to dissolve the monstrous fabric, and to disperse into thin air this enchanted castle in the clouds. Whatever facts they contain depend wholly on the authority of the Vedas. There are no other (there never were any other) sources of early Hindu history known to them or to us. We speak of the time before Darius Hystaspes and Alexander.

Supposing even the Vedas still unknown, and taking the lists, as we find them in Prinsep's Useful Tables, one's faith requires a very strong digestion to get over the first 2 or 3 pages. Setting down as facts not to be questioned, that two dynasties came down in direct succession from the Sun and Moon, and that two out of the four *Yogas* are chronologically determined by the heroes of two epic poems, as real flesh and blood, in all probability, as Lancelot de Lac, and Rinaldo, or King Arthur himself and Lucius, Emperor of Rome, we find the two solar dynasties of Ayodhya and Mithila starting from the *same* point;—but RAMA, the 60th King of Oude, marries Sita, the daughter of the 22nd King of Mithila—the chronological gap between them being at least 400 years. If we attempt to put things right by supposing 30 or 40 names to have dropped out, then what is the value of the lists?

Turning back to the beginning of the Mithila list, and the Puranic beginning of Hindu history, we find at the head of it Nini, *Janaka*, *Udvasu*, *Nandiverdhana*. Nini runs through nearly all the *Yogas*; but to our amazement we find among the kings of Magadha, less than 100 years before CHANDRA GUPTA, all the other three, *Janaka*, *Udvasu* and *Nandiverdhana* again. Sir W. Jones places their first appearance more than three thousand years before Christ; their second is little more than 300.

We could point out many more contradictions and absurdities like these: but it is not worth while. Lists that vary, incongruities, extravagant and revolting fables with no redeeming poetry, anachronisms, falsehood of every shade and degree, from the plain bold lie to the sublime of elaborate subtlety,—form the staple of all the Puranas. It is sometimes really amusing. The writer of the Vishnu Purana, in such a simple matter as a list of rivers, puts down all he can remember (some twice over) and then, thinking his list not sufficiently imposing, fills it up with the names of about a dozen *Rishis* taken bodily from the Vedas!

Partly from the skill and elaborateness of the fiction, and partly from the mutual support which the Brahminical writers

gave each other—astronomy, poetry, legend, chronology and history all helping on the deceit—it has been the custom with modern scholars, to receive with certain reservations, but after all to receive, the dynasties as real dynasties, and with considerable latitude as to their beginning to have faith, as historical eras, in two or perhaps three of the *Yogas*. What is the verdict of the Rig-Veda? It knows nothing of such periods. Their names are not once mentioned in the Veda; nor is *any* allusion made to them. It knows nothing of Solar or Lunar races: knows nothing, and can indeed know nothing, of Ayodha, and Kasi, and Mithila, and Vesali, and Magadha, or even of Indraprestha: while the Puranas on the other hand know nothing of dynasties in the Punjab or on the Indus.

Were the Vedas then written before the Puranic dynasties? The chief names in both are alike; and the Puranic dynasties go back to the Sun and Moon.

The *rationale* of the whole matter is not far to seek. In that after time, when the Arian name was dead, and Indian empire was transferred to the Jumna and Ganges, each court had its tribe of Brahmins, who, to please the monarch and the people, concocted for each a genealogy, held together by a few of the old Vedic names, running back to the Sun or the Moon, and filled up with kings invented at discretion.

Again what mention is made in the Rig-Veda of the great demi-gods, or Avatars, Rama and Krishna? None. There is only one possible way of accounting for the complete silence of the Vedas. Rama and Krishna were later than the hymns. Were it otherwise, every hymn would be full of their exploits. We cannot here keep out the genealogies. We find a group of Vedic kings in immediate succession; Mandhati, Purukutsa, Trasadasyu, and two princes, who write a hymn along with the latter, Tryaruna and Aswa-medhaya. Four of these are found in Mr. Prinsep's first list and in the same order, with a break however of *five* names between Trasadasyu and Tryaruna. Mandhati is in the lists the 20th from the head, and forty names before Rama. Allowing 13 years as a fair average for so long a succession, Mandhati will be about 250 years from the Sun, and 500 before Rama.

Let us now take a second group of kings from the Veda. We choose Aswamedhaya, Nami, Chitraratha, Sunitha, Swanaya, Vrihadratha, Sudas. In Table XIX. of Prinsep, among the PANDU princes of Indraprestha, we have the corresponding Puranic group, Aswamedhaya, Nami, Chitraratha, Sunitha, Swanaya, Vrihadratha, Sudas: but all these princes, according to the Puranas, reigned in Delhi *after the death of Yudistira*. Sudas was full 250 years later. Let us look this matter fully in

the face, using the short 13 year averages, instead of the fabulous periods of the Puranas. According to the lists, Mandhati is 500 years before Rama, Rama 450 before Judishtir, Aswamedhaya about 50 years later. The Puranas therefore put about 1,000 years between Aswamedhaya, and Mandhati's grandson. The Rig-Veda affirms, as we have already seen, that they were contemporaries!

More important results follow: Rama is nearly 700 years earlier than Sudas, 500 later than Mandhati. With a mere change in the figures, this is true of Judishtir, and therefore of Krishna also: and so we are led to the inevitable conclusion, that Rama and Krishna are only poetic heroes, and do not belong to authentic history;\* and the Yogas vanish into their air.

It is thus indirectly that the silence of the Veda is often more valuable than its express testimony.

It will be observed that we have chosen groups rather than individual Kings, to avoid being misled by casual similarities of name. Our next step leads to the history of a single monarch, a conqueror and a poet, once the pride of the Indo-Arian race, and, if we mistake not, yet again to become famous. He has many names Divodasa, Atithigwa, Aswattha, Prastoka, Srinjaya, and (last and most interesting) PURU. Three of these names are found in one verse (*vol. 2, p. 34.*)

"For Puru the giver of offerings, for the mighty Divodasa, 'thou, Indra, the dancer, hast destroyed ninety cities.—For Atithigwa, the fierce (Indra) hurled Sambara from off the mountain, bestowing (upon the prince) immense treasure." The ninety, or ninety-nine, cities of Sambara are wearisomely familiar to the readers of the hymns; and Sambara was probably an ancestor of the Sambas, whom Alexander found ruling the hill country on the lower Indus.

But first (to have done with the lists) as Divodasa, identified by two of his sons and by there being no other Divodasa, he is king of Kasi (Benares,) and 12th in direct descent from the Moon. This will make him only 150 years from the fountain head. As Puru, with two of his sons more obscurely intimated, he is the head of the line of Puru, and 16 descents earlier than BHARATA, who, in the Vedas, is represented as his ancestor. Here he is less than 100 years from the fountain head. Again, as Atithi, (the only Atithi in the lists,) he is RAMA's grandson, and full 700 years behind his former time. There is another

\* Rama is nowhere found, except in the apocryphal list of Kings of Oude. Krishna is named in the Vedas, once as a Rishi, frequently as an Asura, destroyed by Indra, with 50,000 other Krishnas, as black as himself. His name is nowhere found in the lists. Judishtir the priest, appears as a blind King in the Rajah Taittiriya, about midway between Asoka and Vikramaditya!

and a curious blunder in regard to this king; in all that relates to him, the lists are singularly unlucky. They call him a *Buddhist*. It will be seen at once how this arises. Divodasa is very much akin to 'Piyadasi,' the grandson of Chandra-gupta: and they have mistaken the one for the other.

We have now done with the lists. We trust that we have indicated the way; and that others with greater talents and greater leisure, the amiable learned and accomplished Lassen, Dr. Müller, our own two Wilsons, Sir Henry Rawlinson and Mr. Latham, will thoroughly clean out the vast Puranic stable, sweep away its masses of foul deceit undisturbed for centuries, and let the sweet air and the clear light of truth into the early history of India.

The identification of Divodasa with Puru will be a decided step in advance, pregnant with important consequences. A direct text has been already quoted. There is also strong collateral evidence. Yayati had five sons—Yadu, Turvasu, Druhyu, Anu and Puru. Here the Puranas and Vedas are at one. Yayati however was not their father, but a remote and perhaps mythological ancestor. We may accept them however as five brothers, descendants of Yayati. Turvasu and Yadu are frequently mentioned together in the Veda in connection with a voyage or inundation, from which they escaped in safety. Were they contemporaries of Divodasa? In a great battle, of which we shall speak immediately, Turvasu is delivered to Srinjaya, either Divodasa, or his father: for Divodasa is Prastoka, is Atithigvan, is Aswattha, is the son of Srinjaya, as we are told by Garga, (*vol. 3, pp. 474, 475*), who receives cows, clothes, food and gold from him. In another place he is named Bharata, that is a descendant of Bharat, as he may be here named Srinjaya, as a son of Srinjaya. In any case, he is contemporary with Turvasu and Yadu; and may well be their brother, or the celebrated Puru, as the Veda expressly declares.

We have also a clue to his locality. The father of Srinjaya, or Bhadriaswa, was *Deva Vata*. We have a hymn of Devavata (*vol. 3, p. 25*), in which he describes himself as the son of Bharat, and dwelling on "the frequented banks of the Drishadvati, 'Apaya (the Beas?) and Saraswati.'" We know that Puru gave his name to a dynasty: we know that the Kingdom of Porus was here or in the immediate neighbourhood: and we venture to believe that the Puru of the Veda was the ancestor of the gallant and high-spirited Porus, the one worthy antagonist of Alexander the Great.

But, if we are not strangely mistaken, the history of Divodasa gives us a Vedic date—that is, the means of determining within two three centuries the time at which he reigned; and thence

a nearer approach, than the most judicious guessing, to the real era of the Vedas.

Divodasa was a warrior and a conqueror. He conquers and destroys many cities of Sambara, reserving *one* for his own use. He makes a successful raid as far as Parnaya. (Can this be Purniya?) In his old age, at the head of a confederacy of twenty Kings, Kutsa and Ayu being the chief, he leads an army of 60,099 (the Rishis delight in odd numbers) against "the mighty 'but youthful Su-sravas," is defeated, and compelled to submit. This war, we believe, is the historical foundation for the traditional "great war" of the Mahabharat.

The most interesting epoch of his history however remains to be told. Alone, or along with his father, and in alliance with a Rajah Abhivarthin, he carries on a war with the PERSIANS, is defeated at first, but finally overthrows them in a great battle. His own brother Turvasu appears to fight on the Persian side, which would agree with the tradition of Puru's obtaining the inheritance in preference to his elder brothers. It is stated indeed in the Veda itself, that Turvasu and Yadu were denied inauguration.

For this battle we have the indisputable contemporary authority of the Rishi Garga, who receives part of the spoil of Varchin and Sambara. The Rishi Bharadwaja gives like testimony to the liberality of the two conquerors. We quote Bharadwaja (vol. 3, p. 437).

5. Favouring Abhyavartin, son of Chayamana, Indra destroyed the race of VARASEKA, killing the descendants of Vichivat on the HARIYU-PIYA, on the eastern part, while the Western (troop) was scattered through fear.

6. Indra, the invoker of many thirty hundred mailed warriors were collected together on the *Yavya-vata* to acquire glory but the *Vrichivats* advancing hostilely, and breaking the *sacristical vessels*, went to annihilation.

7. He, whose bright prancing horses, delighted with choice fodder, proceeded between, gave up Turvasu to Srinjaya, subjecting the *Vrichivats* to the descendant of Deva-vata.

Bharadwaja adds that Abhyavartin gave him two damsels riding in cars, and twenty cows.

All will admit, that a "western" troop near the Hariya-piya (Aria Palus, now the lake of Seistan) called Varasikas, can only be the Persians; and this is the name Professor Wilson gives them in the Vishnu Purana. That the Hindus made incursions quite as far from home we learn from (vol. 3, p. 279,) where Namuchi is thus spoken of, an enemy of Rinanchya, Raja of the Rusamas;—"The slave made women his weapons. What will 'his female hosts do unto me?'"

Monr. Ferrier, in his most interesting "Caravan Journeys," fell among the Ei-mak Hazaras on the Murgab river, and other

tribes about Dev Hissar, more to the North and East. Their women take part in every war, manage the horse, the sword, and the firelock. Their courage amounts to rashness, and they are more dreaded than the men for cruelty and fierceness. He himself saw them under fire in the foremost rank. (See pp. 194, and 237.) It is, and so far as they know, has always been a national custom. Here we have an intelligible explanation of the Amazons of Alexander, and the "female hosts" of Namuchi.

Taking it for granted then that Divodana fought with Persians, if those Persians held the faith of Ormuzd\*, the Behistun inscription amply explains the hatred they would feel for the Hindu fire-worshippers, and their *breaking the satyrficial vessels*. We are not without hopes that Varchin, and the *Vrichi*, or *Varchi-vats*, may yet be explained. At present, we would suggest for Vrichi-vats—the translation Persian lords, or Persi lords—the *vat* being the Sanscrit, *Vati* or *Patu*. For the *r* and *p*, are usually interchangeable; and *Parasi* and *Varasi*, are the same word.

We have no right, historically, to believe in a Persian army before the days of Cyrus: but the Behistun inscription authorizes six Kings before him. The earliest of these can scarcely be placed more than 600, or 650, B. C.; and it may be supposed that the Persians first became an independent, or at any rate a district, kingdom, during the great Scythian invasion in the reign of Cyaxares.

This might indeed have been the external force that drove the Viswamitras into India. The Viswamitras are known as Kushikas or Kaushikas; that is they came from Kush, to this day the name of a river near the Aria Palus, where M. Ferrier found the ruins of a large place called Kusan.† The Kushan, he tells us, were a famous Scythian race, who held Bakh in remote antiquity. Sir H. Rawlinson found their bricks, with cunei-form Scythic legends at Susa and on the Persian Gulf. We hold that the Scythians did not come to the Cushites; but that the Cushites colonized Mongolia, as they colonized Arabia, Ethiopia and the N. Coast of the Indian Ocean.

INDRA himself is called (vol 1, p. 27) a son of Kusika; the

\* It is certain, from his own record, that Darius Hystaspes worshipped Ormuzd; and it may fairly be inferred that the Magian fire worship was most prevalent in Media. But we can see nothing *dualistic* in the inscription. The "lie" is not applied to Ahriman, but to the Magian sect, and the name of Ahriman has nowhere yet been found on brick, cylinder, tablet, or monument.

† How largely *Cush* is a local nomenclature in Central Asia! The Caspian Sea, Cashgar, Cashmere—Khas—Saks (Saks or Sossacks) Caucas—as (*Khas-mountain*)—Cossaki or Cissu in Persia, the Bal-Kash lake and the Kush of the text: and these are but a mere sample.



Viswamitras are Kushikas, while Purukutsa, son of Mandhati is a "Girikshita" that is, from the neighbouring town of Ghirishk.

Returning to Divodasa, his genealogy upwards runs thus:—Divodasa, Srinjaya, Devavata, Bharat, who is traditionally son-in-law of a "Viswamitra."

If we are correct in dating the introduction of fire and Indra worship by the Viswamitras (supplanting an earlier Sun worship by earlier immigrants) from the Scythic invasion, these five descents will bring Divodasa very nearly or quite to the time of Cyrus; and we may suppose the engagement to have taken place with some Satrap (*Kshatra-pa*), left by Cyrus, when he was occupied with his great Median, Lydian, or Babylonian campaigns: or it may even have been during the rebellions and troubles in the early days of Darius Hystaspes. By a curious coincidence Bentley places Garga (the bard of Divodasa) in 548 B. C.; and the cautious Professor Wilson suspects an allusion to the Buddhists, which could not well be earlier than 545 B. C.

Our conclusion amounts to this. Certain hymns and certain kings are not older than 600 years before the Christian era. We have not data for even guessing how far the earlier hymns go back into antiquity. They may have formed part of the Magian ritual in another land; we know that they were first sung on the banks of the Indus by the Viswamitras.

A word in conclusion on Vedic astronomy. There is no mention of lunar mansions. The year consists of 360 days. The cycle for worship is five years, in the last probably there was an intercalary month, to adapt the lunar to the solar year, or year of the seasons. We find only one name of a constellation or division of the heavens. It is *Tishya*. The same name, as the name of a MONTH, and a sign, is found in an edict of the famous Piyadasi. The "ancient" names of the months therefore, as the Puranas call them, are later than Asoka, for nothing like *Tishya* is found among them, or in any Puranic work.

We would identify the Aswins with Cancer. Præsepe (the cluster) is the chariot. There are three stars forming a triangle; and two of these Greeks and Romans alike called "the Asses" (Aselli, Onoi) from the earliest times. This accords with the chariot, the 3 wheels, and the two asses of the Vedic Aswins (the riders, from Aswa, a horse, or lord of horses)\* too closely for a mere coincidence. Ninety degree from Cancer, are the three stars in Aries, which as Indra is twice called a Ram, may be accepted as the horse's head (an asterism of three stars), or the place of the vernal equinox. The Aswins will then repre-

\* An early Aswa dynasty, probably Scythian, may be traced in the lists.

sent the upper Solstice; and Pushan, riding on his goat, the lower, on capricorn. Such a position they actually held between 500 and 600 B. C. Vedic astronomy therefore was of the rudest. How baseless are the notions of it derived from the Puranic age may be judged of by the fact, that Bentley, from astronomical observations, places Rama about 900 years before Christ, and Krishna 600 years after the Christian era. We suspect he really wrote 600 before it.

There is a curious abstract of Vedic astronomy in the 2nd Ash-taka, Vol. 2, pp. 126, &c., of which the following is an epitome. "I have seen the Lord of men with seven sons." Sayana explains these to be the seven solar rays,—whatever that may mean. Compared with other passages it would really seem to mean the seven colours of the spectrum. In vol. 1, p. 62, there is a distinct allusion to the Zodiacal light.

The 2nd verse shows that they had a week of seven days. "They yoke the seven to the one-wheeled car: one horse, named seven, bears it along."

The 11th and 48th verses intimate the division of the year into 12 months, 360 days, or 720 days and nights. "The fellows are twelve; the wheel is one:—within it are collected 360, which are, as it were moveable and immoveable," v. 48. "Seven hundred and twenty children in pairs abide in it (the twelve spoked wheel.)"

For the cycle of five years, the earliest in India, we have "all beings abide in this five spoked revolving wheel." V. 13.

They divided the year into three seasons, as we now do, the hot and cold weather, and the rains; and into six (perhaps a more ancient division) of two months each. The earliest names known to us for these are the following, whether they were Vedic names is another question:—Vasanta (spring or flowery,) Grishma (the hot season,) Varsha (the rainy,) Sarada (the sultry season,) Hemanta (the frosty season,) and Sisira (the dewy season.) The Hemanta indicates a Northern people; and the whole arrangement reminds one of the French Directory, with its Floreal, Germinal, &c. For the three seasons, verse 2nd tells of "the three axled wheel;" for the six of two months each, and the *one* intercalary month, we find in v. 15,—“of those that are born together, sages have called the seventh the single born; for six are twins, and are *moveable*, and born of the gods.” The luni-solar year and ascending and descending signs are noticed in verse 19, ending “Those (orbits) with thou, Soma and Indra, (the Moon and Sun) hast made, bear along the worlds.” When, in a Sukta abounding in such minute details, we find no notice of the 27 or 28 lunar mansions, we may be very sure they were not known to the writer, and are therefore later than the latest

Vedic times. Any observations therefore, pretended to be founded on them, can only be forgeries, or parts of that elaborate system of computing backwards in later ages which has given a fictitious antiquity to the astronomy of the Hindus.

The Sukta from which we have quoted, is given to Rishi Dirgha-tamas, the son of Mamata: in other words, "long continuing ignorance, the son of egotism," evidently a name for the 'nonce.' It is very long, containing 52 verses, full of mysticism and fancy, and not without gleams of poetical genius. It has been asked how long time should be allowed for the interval between the rude, hearty, inartificial Vedic hymn, and the subtle and elaborate Upanishad. Unless the Suktas, ascribed to Drigha-tamas, are an interpolation, there was no interval at all. They are in form and substance an Upanishad, differing only from the other Upanishads in the absence of the puerility and the unutterable filth that characterize Brahminic literature. In the Brihad Aranyaka alone, we find page after page which the translator dared not render into English. The Vedic hymns are rarely coarse, still seldomer indelicate, and never filthy. *That* came in with Siva—personified foulness.

We cannot here enter on the interesting field of comparative philology; nor is it necessary. There is no dispute that the language of the Vedas and of the Persepolitan inscriptions was substantially the same.

We now take leave of the Rig-Veda, and submit the views which we have suggested, for the decision of those qualified to judge.

ART. VIII.—*The Life and Times of Carey, Marshman and Ward, embracing the History of the Serampore Mission.* By JOHN CLARK MARSHMAN. In two Volumes. London : Longman, Brown, Green, Longmans, and Roberts. 1859.

THE prevalent feeling in this country in regard to Mission work is undoubtedly one of resignation. No class now ventures openly to deride or discountenance the object to be attained. Here and there, perhaps, some Hindooized European may still be found, who declares Christianity little better than Hindooism, holds Missionaries to be overpaid hypocrites, and would if he dared subject the "saints" to penal legislation. More frequently officials may be discovered who believe the Empire in itself so rotten, and religious discussion so politically dangerous, that their fears render them actively antagonistic "to the slightest tendency to a proselytizing tone." Still more common are the men of decorous lives and unimpeachable "experience" who hold the attempt to convert, foolish or wise in other lands, a waste of power in Hindostan. This section includes many who are sincerely desirous of seeing Missionaries prosper, provided they have no trouble and are not unduly taxed, and whom success would warm into something like a temporary enthusiasm. On the other hand there are few now even of the warmest friends of Missionary effort who look forward to any immediate result. There is perhaps not one, worker or layman, who dare affirm that India will be converted within the century. They are content to abide the will of the Lord, but manifest amidst their patient trust precisely the feeling entertained by the worldly section of the community. The latter hold the work good, even emphatically good, and to be pursued, subscribe when convenient, afford individual Missionaries every encouragement, resent any official check placed upon their efforts, but expect nothing. The disparity between the labour expended and the result obtained, the slight impression Christianity has made upon the mass of Asiatics, the low character of the majority of converts, the egregious vanity which obscures the virtues of the few, and above all the rooted conviction of white men that something more than Christianity is necessary to turn "natives" into men, all these causes have combined to produce a feeling of utter hopelessness. That God will one day reveal his power, and that preaching is meanwhile a duty, are principles they accept. But they accept them as they accept the doctrine of non-resistance, of the unholiness of war, of the obligation of forgiveness, as things absolutely true, but which will never be carried out in their day. They are consequently wholly without energy in

the cause, subscribe—but not liberally, approve—but lend no personal aid, read reports,—but never bring the weight of their opinion to bear upon Missionary bodies. The public dictates arrangements in finance, but it never presses for any special Missionary arrangement, never attempts to compel any particular course of action,—as for example a parochial concentration of effort, a pet notion of said public—never even suggests disapproval at the choice of unfit or disqualified Missionaries for the work. One plan is in the public belief as good as another, for all are righteous and all will fail. One man is as good as another, for none without miracles will succeed, and the miracle may be vouchsafed to Balaam as well as to Elijah. The apostle and the professional, the Missionary whose tongue is tipped with fire, and the Missionary who can preach in no language but his own, are accepted with equal respect, and equal coldness. The Indian world, in fact, on Missions is simply resigned.

We may discuss hereafter to what extent this feeling, which though it resembles indifference is in fact widely apart from it being positive and not negative, is justified by existing facts. At present our object is simply to point to the narrative which affords a title to this article as an admirable corrective to a state of thought which, however natural, is to be regretted. Mr. Marshman's work—the "Lives of Carey, Marshman and Ward"—is not simply a great contribution to Protestant Hagiology. It is a history of the Missionary cause during its first struggles, of its toilsome march up the Hill Difficulty before it reached that dangerous because enticing plateau, that pleasant arbour where one loses the roll, where it now appears to pause. There is no difficulty which now besets Missions which these three men did not meet and in large measure overcome. There is no difficulty which can impede any undertaking, be the obstacle social, or personal, or political, whether it spring from religious bigotry or profligate licence, whether it be created by the envy of friends or the malignant calumnies of opponents, by the direct hostility of power or the silent hostility of circumstances, which they did not survive. And when, in the fulness of time, the labourers begin to reascend, when in the course of ages they draw nearer to that summit on which the sunshine from on high perpetually rests, there will be we believe no impediment in their path which the Serampore Missionaries had not foreseen, no chasm for which they had not planned a bridge. Wise as they were however it is not wisdom which is to be learnt from the story of their lives, or we could spare the tale. There is wisdom enough in a dozen sentences of St. Paul to feed all the Missions these generations are likely to see established. The assurance which those lives convey is that effort is *not* resultless, that the difficulties are

*not* insuperable, that if in the faith of the Most High we have the courage to endure and to attempt, the patience and the effort are certain of their reward.

William Carey, the founder of Missions, was in 1786 a cobbler, and a bad one. That he was a cobbler we know from his own repeated statement, made without humility as without exultation. That he was a bad one may be guessed from the fact that while a good workman could make four shillings a day *he* could barely earn bread to eat. He had to hawk his shoes about on his back, but with their sale, and some trifle of stipend as minister of a little congregation at Moulton, he still had the utmost difficulty in getting enough. He carried traces of that discipline to the grave, one of the most conspicuous being that utter fearlessness of poverty, that cool determined contempt for anything the future could do to him, which men of the day so universally want. Though thus engaged he seems to have acquired some store of knowledge. He was fond of reading, knew a little Latin, and had picked up here and there some acquaintance with Geography, the study which of all others seems most to embarrass the unlettered Englishman. Mr. Marshman calls his knowledge at this time extraordinary. It may have been for his time and position, but we suspect the boundless acquirements of later years shed back an unreal radiance over this period of his life, and that, save in one respect, he differed little from dozens of reading artisans, from Lackington for example who in a similar position devoted equal energy to the lower task of accumulating a fortune. That one respect however changed the course of Carey's fortunes. Throughout his career, whether wearily teaching unruly cubs their alphabet, or making bad shoes, or translating Hebrew, or lecturing in Sanscrit before Marquis Wellesley, one passion pervaded his life. It was the desire to reveal Christ to men who knew not of his message. A strong natural benevolence had been intensified by deep piety, and warmed and elevated by the grace of God, until his heart glowed with that settled fervour which has animated few men since the days of the Apostles, but which, wherever found or however manifested, whether compelling Whitfield to carry the word of life to the heathen of England, or urging Xavier into the secret recesses of Asia, or driving John Howard into the chosen homes of pestilence and crime, or lending Wilberforce strength to stand up against the friends of his youth, and plead to angry eyes and brazen brows the cause of the slave, has always been ultimately resistless. This was the key at once to his powers and his career. Whatever he knew—and he did not know a great deal—it was not knowledge which *compelled* him, a

friendless cobbler with no gift of tongues that he knew of, with a pious world and his own household against him, to exile himself to the tropics, and there tell to men he had never seen the tidings which had already secured his own salvation. The clear internal fire, that flame which when lighted from on high smelts genius into conversion, was burning within him, and from the moment the idea of his appointed work became manifest to his mental sight, but one path was open to him. He must convert the heathen, and if it rained opponents he must just go out in the rain. The fathers of his own denomination, a denomination not then, be it remembered, raised in the social scale by the achievements of himself and his colleagues, reprimanded his foolishness. They had it would seem a notion, which many decent people still unavowedly retain, that human learning was not only unnecessary but positively unacceptable with God. "God" once growled Robert Hall "God no need of human learning; how much need has he of human ignorance?" and the Nonconformist world has slipped round to Robert Hall's opinion. It had not slipped however then, and Mr. Carey was worried, and bored, and thwarted, and rebuked, and impeded, by littlenesses which educated men can now scarcely comprehend. In him however, as in all really capable men, there was a large fund of patience, an almost asinine capacity to bear which had its root quite as much in contempt as in any nobler feeling. He took the rebukes of the "experienced" and "respectable" minnies about him very quietly, and next year reproduced his ideas in the same form, and nearly the same language. They began to see the human knowledge dogma was dangerous, so they told him to publish a pamphlet. He published it, and next year stepped forward again, to be put off with some equally futile recommendation. At last however his earnestness conquered their indifference, and in October 1792 the congregation of Kettering resolved to send him to India as a Missionary. The resolve was assisted, and the locality indicated, by the arrival of a Mr. Thomas with glowing accounts of the field opened in Bengal. This man was a character by no means unique in Missionary history, a man of some learning, some real energy, some strong faith, and total pecuniary imbecility. It was decided that he and Mr. Carey should proceed to Bengal together, and the latter finally gave himself to his new career.

A bolder decision never suggested itself to a human being. The Court of Directors who then ruled India as sovereigns were known to be so rancorously opposed to Missions that a passage to Bengal in their fleet was out of the question, and they had the power not simply of deporting but of hanging interlopers. The community with which the Missionary acted were, as a mass,

utterly indifferent to him, and to Hindoos, and to most other things except getting respectable. His own wife raved at the folly of her fanatic husband. Mr. Thomas, though his true character was not yet known, was suspected of reckless improvidence and confessedly in debt. The money raised was barely sufficient to obtain the most ordinary accommodation. Above all Carey himself, with his half knowledge, and to use his own phrase "the utter rustication of his youth," was to hurl himself as it were into perpetual exile, under a tropical sun, in a land more than twelve months distant from his native soil. Sydney Smith, in an Article his friends ought long since to have suppressed, not for its irreligion but for its want of mental keenness and comprehension of character, charges the Missionaries with escaping from the labour of the last to the pleasanter toil of conversion. It is certain at all events that Carey's family thought his resolution involved a doom equivalent to transportation, that he himself looked forward to a life of manual labour under a tropical sun, and that he did actually for seven years endure that labour. Now the Missionary, filled to the brim with Indian knowledge, lands with a fixed pittance, to be welcomed by a circle of colleagues and to find whole communities his friends. Then the poor Missionary knowing nothing of India, not even whether the jackal screaming on shore was a dangerous beast or not, was pitched out of a ship into a land which afforded no prospect of subsistence, among a passively hostile population ruled by an actively hostile Government. Cultivated men—and it is not the uncultivated who abuse missions—are accustomed to talk of Augustine's mission to England as an event having in it something of the sublime? What did Augustine do which Carey left undone that so vast a difference should be pleaded between their achievements. True, the one succeeded and the other did not, but if mere success is the test of inspiration, Mahommed was greater than St. Paul.

We pass over the minor difficulties of passage and funds. No obstacle of that sort ever yet stopped a human being with a purpose, and the opportunity which finally opened of a passage in a Danish ship, was given by Providence, and due to no effort of Mr. Carey. He landed in India on 11th November 1793, and lived at first in a little house in Maniktollah, a dirty Calcutta suburb, preaching every day to the natives, wandering about on foot, and maintaining his family, his wife, her sister and four children, on some pittance extracted with difficulty from Mr. Thomas. In February 1794 he wearied of Mr. Thomas and his ways, and of Calcutta slums, and betook himself to Husnabad in the Soonderbuns. There among the tigers and foresters he resolved to establish his home, and maintain himself by



manual labour. Why he did not die of low fever and sunstroke is one of those problems which medical men settle by saying that men under excitement never suffer. He was saved from the worst miseries of his position by the offer of Mr. Udny to allow him Rs. 200 a month to superintend an indigo factory. He removed accordingly to Malda, and the following extract will give a condensed view of this portion of his life :—

"No sooner had he accepted Mr. Udny's offer, than he considered it his duty to write to the Society in England, and state that he was no longer in circumstances to need any personal support ; he likewise requested that the sum which might be considered as his salary, should be devoted to the printing of the Bengalee translation of the New Testament. "At the same time," he adds, "it will be my glory and joy to stand in the same relation to the Society as if I needed support from them, and to maintain the same correspondence with them." The committee of the Society had been enlarged in number since Mr. Carey's departure, and, as usual, had become more contracted in its feelings. It now included men of smaller minds than those who determined to begin a mission to the heathen on *13l. 2s. 6d.*, and who had so nobly responded to Mr. Carey's offer to go out to any part of the world as a missionary. The whole sum which the committee remitted to India between May, 1793, and May, 1796, for the support of two missionaries and their wives and four children, was only 200*l.* Yet these men, who had left their generous-hearted missionary so destitute in a foreign land, on hearing that he had accepted the charge of an indigo factory, upbraided him with "allowing the spirit of the missionary to be swallowed up in the pursuits of the merchant," and passed the following resolution, "That, though, on the whole, we cannot disapprove of the conduct of our brethren in their late engagement, yet, considering the frailty of human nature in the best of men, a letter of serious and affectionate caution be addressed to them." To these ungenerous suspicions and this redundant admonition, Mr. Carey replied in a tone of subdued indignation, "I can only say, that after my family's obtaining a bare allowance, my whole income—and some months, much more—goes for the purposes of the Gospel, in supporting persons to assist in the translation of the Bible, in writing out copies of it, and in teaching school. I am indeed poor, and shall always be so until the Bible is published in Bengalee and Hindoostanee, and the people want no further instruction."

For four years he devoted himself to this uncongenial task, preaching in his leisure hours, and throughout all his other labours carrying on his translation of the New Testament into Bengalee. We have always regarded this as the most wonderful period of his life, the time which most conclusively proved that Mr. Carey had been appointed to a work. The romance of his enterprise was gone. Those high and vague thoughts which so often impel strong imaginations to schemes noble but beyond their strength, had been supplanted by a painful work-day reality. He had arrived in India, and had, we doubt not, gained the idea which never afterwards quitted him, that of the sons of men none needed conversion so much as the Bengalees. He knew that thenceforth his lot lay among a race bound in the fetters of a subtle philosophy, without hearts to feel or conscien-

ces to fear, as bereft of aspirations for the future as of present virtue. He was harassed by petty trials, by a wife to whose irritable temper, verging always on insanity, every privation was a grievance and every grievance her husband's fault. He was engaged in labour and labour interrupted his true toil, in the labour of supervision, and Carey from the beginning to the end of his career could not supervise. He never could manage anybody, wife, or workmen, or children, or pundits, or anything except perhaps plants. In the midst of these temptations for five long years he never swerved from his purpose, never omitted preaching, never stopped the work of translation, never failed to acquire aught that might tend towards his one true object. His labour at Mudnabatty gave him at least one advantage, a thorough mastery of the lower notes of the beautiful language which was to be his instrument of evangelization. He acquired it to perfection, as far as perfection was possible in a language without a literature or an Academy to control its aberrations, and laid as an indigo planter's assistant the foundation of the knowledge which was shortly to make him facile princeps among Orientalists. At last the path was opened to more direct devotion of his life to his work. Two other Missionaries arrived in Bengal, and driven by Government from the dominions of the East India Company sought those of the King of Denmark. They summoned Carey. He yielded, and on the 10th January 1800 William Carey, the son of the parish clerk, schoolmaster, shoemaker, "tub preacher," and indigo planter, settled in Serampore for life, and commenced the career which has made his name a household word among all who fear God and speak the Saxon tongue. At this time he was a worn oldish looking man of short but broad and tough frame, with a face in which intellect and benevolence were the prominent characteristics, but which was haunted by an impress stamped by early rustication. His virtues our brief sketch has imperfectly displayed. His defects, such as they were, arose chiefly from the circumstances of his life. They were briefly a quaint kind of obstinacy or rather dourness, a "bovine way" such as one sees only among the peasantry of England, and, as springing from that same peasant trait in his character, a want of delicacy and reserve in some of the relations of life.

William Ward, the second of the colleagues, was born at Derby in 1769, a carpenter. He was apprenticed to a printer, and like most printers had a fancy for composition. He edited several papers of somewhat extreme views—very moderate we should think them now-a-days—and had apparently some small success in life. His heart however burned within him, and in 1797 he gave himself to the Mission work, agreed to proceed to Bengal, and arrived 13th October 1799 at Serampore. This is

known of him than of his colleagues, for by habit of mind he was careless of publicity or approval. The duty of the day was with him the first object, and do it he would whatever might interrupt. He appears to have been a fearless, somewhat democratic man, fond of work, slightly opinionated, with a capacity for organization, and with—what belongs to that special temperament—a marvellous control over Asiatics. The Hindoos trusted him as they now trust no Englishman, and his great book on the Hindoos is still the one work which truly describes the race among whom it was his lot to strive. An intense horror of all forms of sexual vice has led to an exaggerated picture of one side of native society, but, that mistake apart, his book remains a monument of patient thought, observation, and enquiry. He bore on his shoulders, till Mr. John Marshman appeared on the scene, the burden of most business details, and old natives still speak of his wonderful capacity to that end. His fault, we suspect, was a mind a little too opinionated, but it was nearly imperceptible in the immense good resulting from his toil.

Joshua Marshman the third, or as he is usually classed second of the two, was born at Westbury Leigh in 1768, the son of a weaver and Baptist Minister. From a very early age he devoted himself to reading, more especially theology, and in 1796 obtained the situation of Schoolmaster to the Church at Broadmead. Here, besides keeping himself abreast of his fellow pupils, he acquired a wide extent of classical learning, Hebrew and Syriac, and became so popular a teacher that independence seemed to be within his grasp. The impulse however was on him too, and through the influence of Dr. Ryland, then President of Broadmead he was accepted, with some unexplained reluctance, as a candidate for Mission work. He arrived in India in October 1799 and as he came out in a Danish ship went to a Danish settlement, Serampore, where he was ultimately compelled by the Company's persecution to remain. Mr. Marshman, doubtless from a feeling that he stood too near his subject, has avoided any distinct or connected sketch of his father's character. It was more difficult to understand than that of his colleagues, for it was more traduced. Huge volumes have been written solely to prove that Dr. Marshman was a subtle schemer. He was accused for years of every kind of evil purpose, and the accusations, repeated with the unweariness of personal rancour, ultimately created an impression, not infrequent even among his friends, that he was radically insincere. We believe it to have been false. We have read upwards of three thousand printed pages of correspondence, chiefly his own, and read them with an impression that this charge must be in some degree

correct, and we pronounce it totally without foundation. That something or other, either in his character, or as we believe in his manner, had the effect of profoundly irritating those who came in personal contact with him, is clear from the facts of his life. That it was something of light importance, is also evident from the devoted affection born towards him by men like Carey and Ward. That he entertained the mistaken theory that men are most easily controlled by "management" and "conciliation" is also clear, but we cannot perceive that he ever gave way to it on important points. He was indeed on questions of principle or conviction, annoyingly unbending. But he would not fight for trifles, and his habitual moderation of tone irritated his adversaries by leading them always to expect the victory they never obtained. For the rest we should judge him a man absolutely earnest in his great work, patient of labour, though not loving it for itself, and with a grasp of mind far beyond his colleagues. He was always put forward as Foreign Secretary of the Mission. It is to him the cause owes that moderation of tone which enabled Wilberforce to quote the Serampore Trio, as living proofs that Missionaries were not of necessity fanatics or seditious. It is to him they owe also the social position they occupy in India, so widely different from that held by Missionaries in New Zealand or the West Indies. It is from him alone we gain maxims invaluable for the general administration of Mission enterprises, and finally it is in chief measure to him that the political success of philanthropy in India, the abolition of Suttee, and infanticide, the new tone given to all official action and all European social life, is really due.

The three men, such as we have tried to describe them, were at last assembled at Serampore. The funds in their possession must have been limited to a degree, but men who have no wants are nearly exempt from the annoyances of poverty. They took a small house, opened friendly communications with the Governor, Colonel Bie, and commenced a plan of life from which they never afterwards departed. They resolved to live in common, to throw all gains into a common stock reserving only some trifle—a pound a month we believe—for pocket-money, and to remain as far as possible self-sustained. They set up a Press, and their positions by insensible degrees shaped themselves into form. Dr. Carey devoted himself to the translation of the Scriptures into Bengalee. Mr. Marshman preached in English and Bengalee, opened a school, and assumed the Foreign Secretariat of the Mission. Mrs. Marshman also opened a girls' school. Mr. Ward preached, chiefly in Bengalee, and superintended what speedily became the vast business of the Press. We shall have

to describe the gradual expansion of their labours subsequently, but meanwhile proceed to the relation of the difficulty which, for thirteen years, alarmed their minds and restricted their efforts.

From the moment they became a sovereign power, the Court of Directors had been remarkable for their hostility to Christianity. All other conquering powers had held the establishment of their own faith in supremacy, as one recognized object of their policy. The Romans imposed the worship of Rome upon all races, save the Jew. The Spaniards went forward avowedly to convert, and despite the abuse we are accustomed to lavish on Spanish sovereigns, it was Royal authority which supported the humane efforts of Las Casas. The Puritans, though too weak to attempt to convert the Red Indians, would have perished sooner than even appear to sympathize in their spiritual ideas. Even the Court of Directors, as a trading body, seem to have believed it part of their duty to instruct the Gentoos in the broad truths of Christianity, and paid Chaplains for that avowed end. The change seems to have come not with their new powers of sovereignty, but with the ingress of Anglo-Indians into the Court. As time advanced and the English people began to enquire why they, the masters of India, should be excluded from their own dominions, the Court considered it necessary to produce some reason of state, some argument of general policy; for the exclusion of Christianity from a Pagan land. They therefore talked loudly of the political danger of conversion, attributing the danger by a curious perversion of facts not to the Mussulmans, but to the Hindoos, who as polytheists were far less susceptible and sensitive for their creed. This political danger however, though subsequently a faith with the Court, was at first a mere invention. The unreality of their fear is evident from the fact that they never in any one case prohibited the teaching of native converts. The native convert as an apostate was of course hateful to his countrymen. Knowing them he was far more bitter on their Gods. Master of the language, with its rich wealth of satire, pun, and double entendre, he was able to drive Bramhans half frantic by sarcasms a European would not even understand. Moreover his work was to a great extent carried on in secret. A European among an Asiatic community is generally as visible as a bull among a flock of sheep. Dr. Carey's movements, journeys, speeches, and pamphlets were matters of which officials might at any time be cognizant. But Ramboosoo was almost an invisible power, might preach treason or talk heresy without any civilized being ever hearing a rumour of the facts. Yet the Court of Directors never shut the native's mouth, never imprisoned native converts, never dreamed of the sentence of transportation they inflicted so repeatedly on European teach-

ers of the truth. The fear of native hostility was, in truth, a figment invented to conceal prejudices on which it was difficult or disgraceful to reason.

These prejudices seem to have arisen thus. The Anglo-Indians who ultimately filled the Court were essentially a proud bad race, greedy for gold, eager for license. They shared to a very wide extent the intense hatred of "methodism" which then pervaded the upper grades of the middle class of Englishmen. The feeling was intensified by that scorn of priestly meddling which is an attribute of all aristocracies, and which to this hour is strongly manifested in Indian society. It does not now show itself in immoralities, but the boldest chaplains fail utterly in securing social weight. Out of Calcutta there is no Minister who would venture even to censure his flock for lax attendance, or want of respect for the priestly office. His silent, respectful, but complete defeat would teach him at once that an Indian station was not a parochial cure. Then again a few men, conscious of possessing special knowledge, are always apt to exaggerate the importance of that knowledge. A good mathematician always believes that mathematics are the end of thought. The Hindoo philosophy therefore, according to these gentlemen, was the wisest in existence. The Hindoo mythology was pure as Christianity, and possessed an element of sublimity Christianity lacked. The Hindoo system of morals was one from which Europeans might learn much. All these prejudices, which opposed every effort to extend Christianity, were intensified as regarded the Missionary by another. The Missionary was *the* Interloper par excellence, and the hate of a camel for a horse, of a snake for a mungoose, was feeble when compared with the hate of an Anglo-Indian for the interloper. Partly from his training, partly from the first circumstances of the conquest, the Anglo-Indian official regarded India as his property, his peculium. An interloper was therefore in his eyes little better than a thief, a man who undersold him, interrupted his profits, and impaired his exclusive authority over the population. With that instinct which comes of self-defence he saw that the Missionary was the most dangerous of interlopers. If he succeeded and India became Christian, the profitable monopoly was at once destroyed. If he failed, the religious party would never rest till they had broken down the monopoly to give him free course and liberty. The class therefore hated the Missionary, and hoped perpetually for a blunder which should give them an opportunity of deporting them from the country. It was the knowledge of this feeling, of this pre-determined conclusion, which tinged the Missionary movements so deeply with alarm. They were not often directly attacked.

They were usually popular with the Governor General of the hour. But they lived none the less from day to day under the incessant fear that, from some casual expression, some carelessness in their converts, their labours would be brought to an end, their property confiscated, and their persons deported as seditious offenders. They were saved in the first place by their situation. The Danish Government, unaffected by the prejudices of the Company, was friendly to Mission effort. The local authorities were friendly to establishments which brought occupation and comfort to hundreds of their people. They resisted gallantly every suggestion of extradition, and on one occasion at least took the responsibility of a quarrel which might have involved war. Throughout the struggle the conduct of the Serampore Missionaries was beyond praise. They never defied the Government. They never fought minor questions. They never engaged in political discussions. They simply and calmly refused to intermit their Missionary labour on any secular consideration whatever.

Take for example the quarrel with Lord Minto, perhaps the only one in which the Missionaries were in serious and immediate danger. Lord Minto arrived in India in 1807, when the Serampore Mission had already become a great centre of civilization and light. He was, says Mr. Marshman a man of second rate abilities, a criticism to which we feel inclined to demur. At all events for a man of second rate abilities he designed, provided for, and carried out one of the widest projects which ever attracted the attention of an English statesman, a project which, had the diplomatists of 1815 had the brain to grasp its magnitude, would long ere this have given us the undisputed sovereignty of the East. In two short years he swept the French, the Dutch, and the Spaniards out of Asia, conquered Bourbon, the Mauritius, Java, Singapore, Borneo, and the Philippines, and left on all Southern seas, on every island and possession belonging to any European power, none but the British flag. That Lord Castlereagh, who did not know where Java was, and had never heard of the Philippines, flung away his conquests, was no fault of his. To us he seems to have been a man of a mind slightly over-expanded for its strength, and apt therefore to regard all questions but the very greatest with dangerous indifference. The temperament is a bad one for a statesman required only to administer, for he is sure to leave substantial power in the hands of his *entourage*, that is, in India, of men who think India the one imperial interest of Great Britain, exaggerate the smallest events, and in their general policy know nothing of moderation. It was in the hands of such men that Lord Minto left the Missionary question. They had been driven frantic by the

news of the Vellore Mutiny. Not that they believed that mutiny caused by Missionary effort. They knew India too well to believe that any act or omission as to Bengalees could affect Madras. But it gave them a handle, and they raved of the danger of the Empire. A pamphlet, it appeared, had been issued from Serampore reflecting on Mahomedanism and Mahommed, in terms made gratuitously severe by the Moonshee employed to revise the translation. The Government demanded through the Governor of Serampore the suppression of the pamphlet. The Missionaries, instead of standing on the general question of right to publish, examined the translation, detected the interpolation, and at once surrendered the edition. Government then advanced a step. They resolved to prohibit preaching in Calcutta, and to break up the Press at Serampore. The Governor at once declared his determination not to permit any dictation of the kind. The Missionaries at first therefore were inclined to remain silent, but Mr. Ward's advice prevailed, and we give the discussion in extenso, as an instance of the real spirit which prevailed in the Mission :—

“Dr. Carey and Mr. Marshman agreed to leave the matter in his hands, and to refrain from any further communication with Government. But Mr. Ward did not consider this determination wise or prudent, and immediately sent his brethren the following minute of his views :—“I have a great deal of hesitation in my mind respecting our remaining in sullen silence after the English Government have addressed us through Brother Carey and the Governor. As it respects ourselves, even if we are not compelled to go to Calcutta with our press, the having them as our avowed and exasperated enemies is no small calamity. They may deprive us of Brother Carey's salary, with which we can hardly get on now, and without which we must put an end to the translations, and go to jail in debt. They can shut up the new meeting at Calcutta ; they can stop the circulation of our Grammars, Dictionaries, and everything issued from this press in their dominions ; they can prohibit our entering their territories. As it respects Col. Krefting, we ought to deprecate the idea of embroiling him with the English Government, if we can possibly avoid it. I think, therefore, as we can now officially through him address the British Government, we should entreat their clemency, and endeavour to soften them. Tender words, with the consciences of men on our side, go a long way. We can tell them that to take the press to Calcutta would involve us in a heavy and unbearable expense, and break up our family, and that we will give them every security they would wish, by subjecting our press to the absolute control and inspection of the Government here ; nay, that we are willing to do everything they wish us, except that of renouncing our work and character as Ministers of the Saviour of the world. To this Col. Krefting can add what he likes. If they listen to this we are secured, with all the advantages of their suzerainty. If they are obstinate, we are still at Serampore. I entreat you, dear brethren, to weigh these things, and give them all the attention that our awful circumstances require.

Mr. Ward's proposal met with the approbation of his colleagues, and it was resolved to present a supplicatory memorial to the Governor-General. At the same time, Mr. Ward renewed, with much importunity, the advice he had previously given them to seek a personal interview with Lord Minto,



whom, as yet, they had not been introduced to. He urged that the Moravian missionaries never omitted to cultivate a good understanding with the Governors, wherever their Missions were planted, by making themselves personally known to them, and explaining their plans of operation. Thus, said he, prejudices are disarmed, and the designs of enemies baffled. On the present occasion, a personal communication with Lord Minto would dispose him to receive the memorial more favourably."

It will not be forgotten that Mr. Marshman, one of the three who adopted this course, was condemned in after life as a man of an habitually contentious spirit. The personal interview ended as, on our interpretation of Lord Minto's character, it might be supposed it would end. His Lordship had almost forgotten the menaces the Anglo-Indians had put into his mouth, and coloured when referred to them, and asked for a memorial. The memorial, a very able one, was presented, the order was revoked, and Lord Minto informed the Missionaries "that nothing more was necessary than a mere examination of the subject, when everything appeared in a clear and favourable light." In other words the moment the Governor General personally attended to the matter, the Anglo-Indians were thrust aside, and the question decided on principle instead of according to a narrow Hindooized prejudice. The result in every case was the same, and although Lord Minto soon after was induced to expel three Missionaries, the elder men were still permitted to remain.

It is curious to mark the steps which this great controversy has taken in advance. In its original form it was simply a dispute whether Missionaries should be allowed in India at all. Then it became a question whether, though tolerated, they should not be liable to deportation for "excessive or injudicious zeal." It is on these points that the controversies of 1808 and 1813 raged. The forgotten pamphlets of which Mr. Marshman has given so amusing a sketch, were devoted entirely to these points, and what is now regarded by the real question, the relation of Government to Paganism, was scarcely raised. Mr. Marshman scarcely gives even his own opinion. From scattered hints we can gather that he would have Government simply inactive, tolerating all creeds alike, but supporting none, but no theory is expressed in these volumes. We will venture briefly to point out what we consider the difficulty of the position, and the true attitude to be assumed by a Christian Government when ruling Pagan millions.

The early theory of the Christian world undoubtedly was, that the ruler was bound to extend Christianity to the uttermost by any and every available means. That theory is still maintained by the Roman Catholic Church, and it has at least the merit of simplicity and clearness. It is not invariably, either, a theory at variance with practical facts. It was under such an impulse that

St. Olaf converted Scandinavia by the sword, that Charlemagne christianized the Saxons, that the Teutonic Knights changed the faith of the Wends, that the Gachupins or old Spaniards of Mexico, in the midst of horrible cruelties, still brought the Indians over to a form of Christianity. Later in history the Puritans of England, while recognizing the fact that genuine Christianity *cannot* be propagated by force, still considered idolatry a crime. The public performance of many Catholic rites was and still is prohibited in England, and the "devil worship" of Massachusetts and one or two tribes in the West Indies was sternly repressed. Later still the modern theory of toleration sprung up and prevailed, till it had destroyed all other theories of the relation between religious thought and worldly power. According to this theory all questions of religion rest between man and his God. The State, as such, has nothing to do with beliefs, or with the forms in which those beliefs may reveal themselves to society. This is, we have said, the theory. In practice it is modified by the rider that such outward expression of belief must not be obnoxious to the laws of humanity or the general good order of mankind. America with all its freedom will not tolerate Mormons. England with all its freedom suppresses infanticide and suttee, the last a religious act injuring only the individual who submits to it, and therefore within Mr. Mill's notion of permissible though objectionable deeds. Whether this theory thus modified is in accordance with Christianity, whether Christ would have tolerated the worship of Seev, whether, setting all beliefs aside, open idolatry is not a crime which human beings are required by God to put down, must remain uncertain. This much at least is sure that all practical statesmanship must bend to this theory, that for the hour no plan is practicable which cannot be defended on this ground. Within these narrow limits, therefore, what is the true position of a Christian Government reigning over a Pagan people?

There are, as it appears to us, but two courses open. The first and for the moment the popular one is to ignore religious belief as an element in society altogether, to govern wholly irrespective of creeds, to grant equal privileges to the Christian and the Pagan, to refuse connection with all endowments alike, to prohibit all religious teaching in official colleges, to reject all religious books from official libraries, to listen in short to nothing which endangers an absolute policy of neutrality. This policy as a political scheme has only one defect. It can never be carried out. Not only has the Government itself a creed, which on one or two points—as for example slavery—it dare not disobey, but its administrators are men always of some belief, often of a strong one, which revolts from absolute indifference. Even

supposing all administrators and Government permeated with the same theory the subjects are not. *They* do not think their faith matter of indifference, but on the contrary of most urgent import. At every step the neutral Government is compelled by their resistance to abandon neutrality. It publishes a law prohibiting the public exposure of obscene pictures. Hindooism compels it to make an exemption in favour of obscene pictures on temples. It publishes another to enforce the taking of oaths. Hindooism compels it to exempt Hindoos. It endeavours to enforce military obedience to orders. Hindooism compels it to except all orders contrary to caste. It publishes a law of succession. Hindooism and Mahomedanism both compel provisos so large as to swamp the Act. In truth neutrality is as impossible in public affairs as in driving. You must take one road or the other ; and not the hedge between.

The second course is the one which we venture to believe combines the requisites demanded, enables us to honour God, to avoid a crusade, and to keep within that narrow limit of toleration on which English opinion for the present insists. This is to declare that Government is a Christian Government, Christian in objects and ways, but for grave reasons tolerating Hindooism like any other social evil, like for example concubinage. No European Government is neutral as regards concubinage. It holds it, in its Courts, and in the theory of its laws, abominable, but nevertheless for grave reasons leaves it alone. So we would leave Hindooism alone as a thing abhorred, but which if repressed by force would only give place to evils as offensive and more dangerous. The direct consequence of such a theory would be an utter disconnection from Hindoo trusts, a refusal to acknowledge Hindoo holidays, and the exclusion of purely Hindoo questions from European Courts of Justice. The creed would then live or die according to its own inherent vitality. That this is the solution at which we shall ultimately arrive, we have no doubt whatever. The process however will not be complete, till steam and electricity have brought England and India into such close contact that Englishmen at last can see Hindooism clearly through the haze, recognize it in its true character as a mass of festering corruption, and with one voice demand what the Sadducees of that day will consider most unphilosophical requisitions.

The Serampore Trio determined, half consciously perhaps, to make their Mission self-supporting. Independent labour and more especially literary labour was at that time almost without a precedent in India. The Press was still under restrictions. Manufactures except of Indigo were almost unknown. There were no private schools worthy of the name. The road to wealth seemed closed except to a few merchants and

English lawyers. Still the Missionaries did not despair. Each was master of at least one trade. Each had looked poverty fairly in the face, and knew that so defied it became a bugbear. They had moreover, though scarcely aware of them, almost incalculable advantages. They were all thrifty men, by which we mean men not simply economical, but well aware of the relation of means to end, of expenditure to return. They were all in a very singular degree healthy men. They were all men of labour, capable of hard, continuous, persevering work. Above all, by their intimate union, and the terms on which they decided to live, they gained the one Indian advantage, cheap efficient European labour. The profits of the Press, for example, would not have purchased a printer like Mr. Ward. • No pay would have secured the ability, the unswerving care and attention, Mr. and Mrs. Marshman gave to their schools. They set up a press originally intended to print the Bengalee translation of the Bible. Translations continued always its main work, but the one increased to thirty. Dr. Marshman opened a school, and Mrs. Marshman another, and both schools filled rapidly. All who were unwilling to send their children to Europe, all who were unable, sent them to the good Missionaries of Serampore. The number was increased by the peculiar immorality of Anglo-Indian Society. India was swarming with illegitimate children whom their fathers could neither send home nor look after. It was a relief to their consciences that their children should receive the religious education they had themselves lacked, and for years they were sent in numbers to Serampore. The school prospered exceedingly, the receipts amounting at times to Rs. 4,000 a month. Then Dr. Carey was appointed Sanscrit Professor to Marquis Wellesley's new College\* with 1,500 a month. The Press also by degrees, paid, we can scarcely at this distance of time understand how. For the mass of translations they received considerable donations from England, but for the rest of their enormous undertakings they were assisted to a very large extent by the fruits of the labour of their own hands. In five years they expended the sum of £13,000, of which only £5,740 had been subscribed from England. The rest was their own gift to the work of the Mission, a large sum to have been surrendered in five years by those who commenced life as working men. Not to protract this part of their history, we may state that the three men in their lives gave to the Mission a sum exceeding £60,000, all raised by the labour of their own hands, and the patient self-

\* It is a curious fact that this appointment could not now be made. The Home Government, in a sudden access of cowardice, has prohibited all Indian Governments from employing persons in orders.

denial of years. Religious history has scarcely such another instance to record, for these men gave from no impulse, received no reward in public applause, or smiling faces around them. They reduced themselves to bare maintenance, the highest personal allowance ever conceded being forty rupees a month. This liberality they continued through life, giving as largely to the Mission when translated in England, as when their efforts had made them the almost worshipped friends of the Christian world. The only difference the incessant calumnies of later years made in their conduct, was a resolution to devote one-tenth of their earnings to a fund for the support of their wives and families. They died poor men, Dr. Marshman the richest among them leaving but a bare provision for his widow.

While engaged in these labours they carried out undertakings even larger, but which brought no addition to the Mission Funds. The work of Carey's life—professorships, &c., being trifles—was the translation of the Scriptures. He had conceived, apparently while still at Mudnabatty, a half educated indigo planter, the design of translating the scriptures into every language spoken throughout India. He succeeded. Before he died he had published the Bible in Sanscrit, Persian, Hindostanee, Bengalee, Marhattee, Ooriya, Telingu, Pooshtoo, Punjabee, Goozerattee, Hindee, and upwards twenty other languages and dialects. Some of these translations undoubtedly were imperfect. One or two were pronounced bad. But five or six, the Sanscrit, Bengalee, Ooriya and Marhatta, were admirable, the Bengalee being to this day the only one not deformed by Sanscritized expressions. Not one we believe was in any degree unintelligible, the Punjits alone, imported as they were from the districts addressed, preventing that special form of error. The Pooshtoo for example said to be among the worst, has since been read out to Afghans in the valley of Peshawur, who understood every word. To have accomplished one translation successfully was a mighty achievement but Dr. Carey did much more. He simplified all future labour. He pointed out the path, and those who enter into his labours may, now that the trees are blazed, congratulate themselves on the ease with which they find the way, and blame the pioneer because he did not, single handed, cut a level road. In almost all these languages he published dictionaries and grammars, the dictionary of Bengalee being still the quarry from which all present book-makers in that line dig their materials, and the grammar the only one which really assists the student. But for the bitter controversy allusion to Dr. Carey's powers as a linguist always excites, we should be inclined to claim for this grammar still higher credit. It is the one grammar we have ever seen made for men ignorant of the language to be studied, divested of

all rigmarole about the structure of inflexions, and reduced to the half dozen arbitrary formulas by which, and not by philosophical discussion, children learn their mother tongue. He translated the greater portion of the incomplete version of the Ramayun, though unfortunately from the inaccurate text current in Bengal. He founded the Agricultural Society, he established a botanic garden still rich in the plants of South America; he was long the most active Member of the Asiatic Society, and the sketch of his daily work may be read by some who strive to follow in his foot-steps with sorrowing envy.

Mr. Ward's labours, though not so prominent as those of Dr. Carey, were in his own department as arduous and successful. His one great work exhausts knowledge on the subject of Hindoo customs, and he was for years the right hand of the mission. Dr. Marshman in addition to the daily labour of his school, of his incessant preaching and discussion, of the whole correspondence of the Serampore Mission, was manager of a series of smaller missions, and the Translator of the Chinese Bible, the works of Confucius, and the Clavis Sinica, an attempt at a Chinese Dictionary. All these works are probably open to the objection urged against Dr. Carey's, but the translation of the Bible is declared by Chinese scholars still to be a work of singular merit, a real assistance to subsequent translators.

We have repeated the story of the work these men accomplished, not only for itself. Men have rarely worked harder for a fortune. Still, mere work is often accomplished by mere workmen, and is only worthy of record as a contribution to the general outturn of that generation's effort. But the Serampore Mission carried out in great part—not entirely, for they had help from England—the idea of a self-supporting Mission. That idea has for the last thirty years been so completely laid aside, buried as it were under the reports of great Missions and endowed societies, that it may be considered forgotten. It may be questioned if the world has gained anything by its want of memory. Undoubtedly if we resolve to convert the world by an Agency such as we employ to keep up the offices of religion in Christian Churches, an Agency which shall be to some extent a profession, and therefore hampered by the inequalities and imperfections of individual character, large Societies form the best medium of effort. The self-supporting Mission is apt to be erratic, apt also perhaps to catch too much of the commercial spirit. The absence of control and responsibility is with the mass even of good men always a temptation. Still there are some minds so finely attuned that immersion in the business of the world does but strengthen their devotion to spiritual things. There

are some minds so gifted that they acquire by the incessant intercourse with men and facts, by facing personal obstacles and overcoming physical difficulties, new weapons for the spiritual warfare. With such men the plan of self-sustaining missions offers many recommendations. That mode of support offers a scope for individual energy, or even individual eccentricity, no Society can afford. It enables them to try new experiments, without the weary necessity of convincing old men on paper that the experiments are likely to succeed. Above all it invests them with personal interest in the work, relieves them from the danger of that torpor into which great Societies, whether for propagating the Gospel or making candles, have a universal tendency to fall. As a systematic scheme for the conversion of the heathen, intended to concentrate every little fragment of energy in a nation or a denomination, the Society is the better instrument. But we should be glad to see in a few of our young men in England the self-reliant, almost arrogant, energy, and humble reliance on the promises of the Almighty, which would tempt them into the difficult but noble path of self-supporting Missionaries.

The self-supporting Mission brings us to another point in the history of Serampore. As early as 1806 Dr. Carey had determined to extend the sphere of operations by creating subordinate Mission stations. After many obstacles, arising chiefly from the opposition of Government, which we need not recount, the plan succeeded. As means became more plentiful it was enlarged until the Serampore Missionaries became the central directing authority of no less than sixteen Missions, in all parts of Eastern and Northern India.

To each of these stations they sent at least one Missionary. With each they maintained a close relationship. From each they received, and published periodical reports. The attempt was a noble one, but we are fain to say that this is the point on which we feel least satisfied both with their efforts and Mr. Marshman's book. The latter contains too little on the subject. Serampore is too much all in all. That it was a centre of Missions as well as a Mission is a fact which, though re-stated as often as a bee left the hive or returned for shelter, is not so prominently brought forward as it deserved. What did these Missionaries do? How did the three guide them? How far did they control them? What was the organization of the machinery? One would have liked more information on all those points, but it is not in any liberal degree forthcoming.

One reason of this may be that Mr. Marshman unconsciously feels what we consciously feel, that these Missions were the least successful section of the Serampore work. Not much was accom-

plished in any of them. This may have partly arisen from the utter newness of the soil they had to turn up. Their energy was exhausted as it were in cutting a mental jungle, while we are crying for corn from the clearings. There is truth in that objection, but we fear there is also truth in this. One of the faculties not granted to Dr. Carey, who chiefly selected agents, was a clear perception of character. He had too much belief in a passive sort of goodness as the grand requisite for Missionary work. All three men had moreover an idea that Missionaries trained in the country were the best, a theory perfectly true of natives, but scarcely true of the somewhat miscellaneous list of Greeks, Armenians, and country-borns found on the Society's list. An indisposition also to strong, dominant, self-willed characters is found perhaps in all strong men. They like Agents who will carry out their views, and for all but Missionary work they are perhaps in the right. The Missionaries of Serampore were not altogether free from that failing, and their selections rarely turned out equal to their expectations. Mr. Marshman has recorded their disappointments in some cases in very clear English, but we must go a step further and say that with the exception of Mr. Thompson of Delhi, and Mr. Robinson, who both in Java among the soldiers and in Dacca among natives effected much, none of their Agents left a mark in Missionary history. They were very good men, usually men of zeal, but there was a deficiency of power, of real native vigour in all, which the author would probably attribute to individual idiosyncrasy, but which sprung at least as much from circumstances of class and career. It has been said and truly that the divine gift of inspiration, the seal of prophecy or apostleship, never appears in Scripture to have been bestowed save on men of a very high order of intellect. David and Solomon, Isaiah and Ezekiel, St. Paul and Peter the Apostle, were possessed, besides their gift from on high, of wisdom, eloquence, pathos, the power of logic, and the faculty of heart-reading, in a degree wholly exceptional among mankind. Similarly we question if it is given to feeble men to become very successful Missionaries. The grace of God cannot be limited, but it must be remembered that it falls on the taught rather than the teacher, that as a matter of historic fact the visible instruments of the Almighty have been of sharp edge. The Serampore Trio had, we fear, too much the idea of some modern societies, that as salvation cometh of faith, the power of teaching well in foreign tongues may come of faith too. It may, but the human being who calculates on a miracle is often punished by failure for his presumption.

We feel the absence of detail on this subject as the more unfortunate, because the organization of Missionary bodies, the pro-



per connection of Missionaries with Societies, boards, committees, and Foreign Secretaries, is just now a vital question in the work. Disputes about it are always rising. A controversy springing of it embittered the lives of the Serampore Missionaries for years. A downright quarrel on the subject last year shattered the American Mission to pieces, and in the midst of shoals of articles, pamphlets, papers, speeches, accusations, recriminations, and resolutions, no principle seems yet accepted. The practice of the evangelical churches varies with the individual talent of their rulers. The Church of Rome is of course consistent and despotic. She governs her Missionaries from Rome, through a Board practically consisting, we believe, of three men. The English Propagation Society maintains a pretty complete control over its agents. The Church Missionary Society tries to do the same, and owing to the dominant will and energy of one man, has for a time succeeded. The remaining societies leave the question undecided. In theory every Missionary being responsible, if at all, to the Churches who pay him, and not to the Society, Board, or Committee who send him, is independent. He has a right to choose his sphere of labour, the character of his labour, and to a large extent the means he shall adopt for making that labour successful. The Boards admit the principle, but in some important matters set it aside. They decide all money questions. No Missionary can go home without their leave. No Missionary can act in absolute independence as to choice of station. In one or two points, where they are secure of support from the churches, they go even farther. No Missionary for example could intermit making reports for years with safety. On one occasion an entire body was informed in unmistakable English that if they persisted in taking grants-in-aid they would be dismissed. Of course some phrase much civilier in form was employed, but that was its unmistakable meaning. The American Board actually carried out a similar sentence, and that, as was subsequently perceived, against the will of a large majority of their supporters. Absolute independence therefore is claimed for one side, admitted on the other, and yet as a fact does not exist. Englishmen are accustomed to that state of things, indeed have invented a special phrase, "constitutional compromises" in order to describe it. But constitutional compromises ought to work well; and this special compromise does not invariably do so. There is a want sometimes of organization, sometimes of independence. A promising station is sometimes broken up because its occupant is dead, and every other Missionary thinks his special task more important. A promising experiment is sometimes frustrated because the Committee cannot be convinced that the brain which devised it is wiser than theirs.

As a matter of mere reasoning it is impossible not to prefer the Roman Catholic strict organization. When obedience does not weaken zeal, independence is merely waste of power. But as a matter of fact that system never succeeds with Englishmen. We are insular, and must get along independently or not at all. The soldier merely ordered becomes a machine, the official over-centralized loses all originality. National character cannot be altered for the especial benefit of Missions, and the only course open is to secure as much union as the national character will allow. We believe this would be most easily done in Missionary affairs on the plan long since adopted in matters secular. Let Missionaries be controlled, and pretty absolutely, by themselves. In other words, vest whatever of executive authority is needed in a Committee composed of the whole body of Missionaries in the district, with permission to vote, if necessary from distance, season or other cause, by letter on the facts, as officers do in their funds affairs. Every man then having his fair voice and argument in the matter might submit to the general advice without loss of individuality or independence.

The absence of strong character in the Agents of the Mission appears perhaps with undue clearness from the contrast to that of the three men themselves. None exhibited more thoroughly the true character for Mission work. None felt more acutely the necessity for attention to such work. The moment, they were accustomed to say, Missionary labour becomes a profession it will cease to be successful. The danger is one which seems to have struck all Missionary bodies, and schemes for evading it have been repeatedly proposed. One and the most popular is to subject all Missionaries to such an amount of personal discomfort as to ensure a certainty that only devoted men will accept the office. Another is to send them forth to live like natives. The last scheme has much to recommend it, but the one unfailing unanswerable objection is that it kills the Missionaries employed. It was tried by the Jesuits pretty thoroughly, and under favourable circumstances, and the result was a mortality of forty per cent. per annum, a result which would crush the most powerful Mission that ever existed. The other plan of excessive narrowness of means has also been tried, but we think without any adequate return for the misery it inflicts. With unmarried Missionaries it might succeed, but to a married man extreme discomfort at home, or excessive fear for the future of wife and children, is a source, not of new devotion, but of harassing anxiety. That no Missionary should be wealthy, that he should receive only a maintenance out of which accumulation is impossible, may be as wise as it is unavoidable. But extreme penuriousness does not as a matter of fact elicit a deeper

spirit of devotion, and it may be questioned whether most Missionary bodies do not now carry economy too far. The Serampore Missions, filled as they were chiefly from men bred and born in the country, could of course be carried on with an economy impossible with purely European agency. But the gain in the number of Agents is lost in their deficient energy, in that tendency to lassitude of thought and purpose which the climate produces in all but a few men of special mental constitution. Mr. Marshman enumerates as one of the benefits attending the selection of Missionaries from within the country, the ease with which they acquire the native tongues. It seems certain, however, that two years of real effort, of eight hours' work a day, will enable any man not too old to acquire thoroughly any language spoken among men. Excuses are made for some languages, notably Chinese and Singhalese, on the ground of extreme complexity and variableness. The excuse as regards the written tongues may be true, but as to the colloquial a Singhalese has only two lips and a tongue, and what those organs can utter, men with similar organs may learn to utter too. The excuses made are invariably either the excuses of idleness, of indifference, or of positive incapacity for the acquisition of languages, an incapacity which like deafness, blindness or lameness, should be a disqualification for that special mode of serving God. The more we see of native life the more do we coincide with the almost exaggerated value the Serampore Missionaries place on this one faculty of ready speech. A new creed to be intelligible must be uttered to a people in their own tongue. Whatever the value of English, however great its efficacy as an instrument of cultivation, words uttered in it still address themselves so entirely to the intellectual faculty that the affections and the conscience must both remain comparatively passive. It is to the tongue of the people that the Missionary should devote his first attention, and that in no perfunctory manner. It is of little use to know the language as most of us know it, as a mode of expressing wants, wishes, and information. The Missionary should be a master of the vernacular style, able to touch all the notes of the mind, pathos, or humour or indignation, to express a thought by an inflexion, or crush an opponent by an accent. The man in fact who cannot pun in the vernacular, is devoid of one of the most powerful weapons employed in the contest.

On the last point of Missionary discipline, the relation between Missionaries and converts, the practice of the Serampore Missionaries was clear and decided. Believing always that it is by native apostles alone the native world will be converted, they still retained their influence over all their converts.

The notion of equality, now so widely diffused through the churches, was never so much as discussed. There was perfect sympathy for the convert, for his trials, his efforts, his worldly affairs. But the wise were still to rule the foolish, and it was expected that those who came to the Missionaries for advice should accept it when afforded. As a matter of fact the converts relied even too much on that advice, and for years a semi-episcopal constitution remained intact, preserved by ability and kindness on the one side and uncomplaining confidence on the other. Amid the scores of schemes in which modern perplexities on this point result, this still seems to us the best and most practicable. There must be a native pastorate. That pastorate must for years be guided, stimulated, watched, and if necessary controlled, by the stronger faith and wiser brain which the European inherits from his twelve centuries of Christianity and progress. To place a series of pastors under any one Missionary, without the religious claim of Bishop, yet with practically episcopal authority, will always produce heart-burnings, and rebellion. But the pastors may well submit themselves to the general Committee of all Missionaries which we have before suggested, and in which they may be fairly represented. That was the Serampore system. The old men worked on, not conscious at all that they were laying the foundation of systems, but meeting each difficulty as it arose. Still in practice all difficulties were submitted to a Committee in which every class had a recognized or unrecognized but operative voice, and by which the final resolution was pronounced.

In 1812 another step was taken forward. An idea that the work of education was absolutely connected with that of evangelization, had long taken possession of the three old men. They conceived that for the permanent overthrow of Hindooism a new philosophy, a new system of knowledge was almost as essential as a new religion. There must be Christian pundits, and they resolved to train them. For this purpose they proposed to establish a grand College, with Professors of Sanscrit, Arabic and English literature and knowledge, a College in which Oriental learning should be made subservient to the spread of Christianity. They modified this project in a few years, but it may not be superfluous to discuss its merit. The world has lived fast since then, and has learned among other things to despise Oriental learning. Sanscrit scholars once so numerous in India may now be counted on the fingers. There is but one known Arabic scholar on this side of the continent. Persian is disused, or used only as a school-boy exercise. The search into antiquities is ceasing, the Asiatic Society is dying, and in a few years

if the present movement lasts, men will speak of Oriental learning as they speak of the Aristotelian philosophy, a subject only for the investigation of the curious. In 1812 Oriental learning was still valued. Men sympathised then with the community among whom they lived, and from the force of that sympathy comprehended the strength with which the old philosophy moulded their opinions, and therefore their manners. They felt that so long as the native retained Faith, so long as, beaten in argument, he still retained the idea of truths locked up in Sanscrit which if revealed would destroy his opponent, progress would be difficult or impossible. The Missionaries resolved to unlock the Treasury, to pull down the veil of the Hindoo Holy of Holies, and shew the people that it contained only dust and ashes. Their plan may have been mistaken. Indeed they modified it themselves. But it is in accordance with the true principles of education, and we have not advanced so far on our different road as to be entitled to condemn their different, and hitherto untried plan.

The College arose in a building so stately and expensive as to call forth the remarks of enemies on the ostentation which had dictated its plan. If it be ostentation to prefer beauty to ugliness, a cathedral to a barn, a splendid building to a cluster of ware-houses, the building, contrasted with those then used for schools, was ostentatious enough. Those who think that the cathedral is after all a natural expression of the reverence of man for that which is divine in him, who believe that beauty is in itself an educating force, who feel that the mere presence of grandeur elevates the growing intellect, will probably ascribe the careful design and large cost of the Serampore College to a higher motive. Coupled with the reason we have indicated ran another, the result of a wide experience. The Missionaries knew that the one quality difficult to secure in India is permanence. Air, water, population, society are all against it. Brick crumbles like ashes in this climate. Wood perishes as if the white ants really ate it at the pace people in England have been taught to believe. Even iron oxidises at a rate Stephenson or Brunel would refuse to credit. The soil is a mass of spongy rottenness. The air is loaded with vapours as destructive of all material as of human life. The natives believed to be so changeless, never repair. The European society changes every six years. Under such circumstances vast size, expensive materials, beauty of design, are absolutely essential to permanence. It is only by such qualities a building can tide over inevitable intervals of neglect. Only such can excite the keen interest necessary to secure a harassing and wearisome superintendence. An Institution housed anywhere

dies. Once enshrined in a building adequate to its aims, and it will live down generations of its friends.

The mere building was an evidence of wisdom. The object with which it was built, is more open to discussion. The College was intended directly or indirectly for the evangelization of the heathen. The Missionaries found it convenient to point out the undoubted fact that it would conduce to general civilization, but that was not their first object. Is then tuition a reasonable mode of advancing that great cause? With the Serampore Missionaries we believe that it is, but like them we should base that belief on ideas somewhat different to those now prevalent in India. That a superior education is essential to the reception of the Gospel is of course false. The mass of men are to be saved, though they will never have the leisure for high education. The apostles, though men of broad intellectual power, were with two marked exceptions not men of education. That education in India disposes men to Christianity may, also, be questionable. Knowledge of course destroys Hindooism, for Hindooism is based on false natural philosophy, and false cosmogony. But it does not necessarily make Christians. The great mass of educated natives are not Hindoos, or Christians, or Deists, or even Atheists. They approach more nearly to the English Secularists, who believe that anything *may be* true, but that meanwhile the object of life is worldly comfort, than any other English sect. But in fact they have no belief except that nothing is true, and that pleasure is pleasant. This may be a transition state. It may be that the lads who think thus are merely in the chrysalis condition, that their minds will one day emerge, trained, purified, Christian intellects. It may also be that this condition is one of putrefaction, that belief and faith and the power of moral progress, have been, not purned down to allow of a new and more beautiful growth, but killed, rooted out to perish for ever. The one solution of the problem is at least as likely as the other, and despite some splendid instances of individual excellence we have a limited faith in the Christian influence of education on the mass of Asiatics.

But this is only half the question. The true defence of Missionary education—beyond its unmistakable influence on civilization—is that advanced by the Serampore Missionaries. The work of conversion must one day be effected by a native Apostle. Such a man to succeed, as for example Wesley succeeded, must unite to the subtle learning of the East the broad and accurate knowledge of the West, to the eloquence of his countrymen, the force, directness and purpose which spring only from Western cultivation. One such man, gifted with the powers of eloquence, of sarcasm, of hot burning pa-

thos so many of his countrymen have possessed, would do more to construct a Christian Church in India than a legion of Missionaries. It is only by the general and wide spread of Christian education that we can hope to find the man essential to the cause. We have not found him yet, but meanwhile in the midst of thousands of secularists one or two earnest able labourers have turned up, and acquired among their countrymen an influence for which Europeans hardly give them sufficient credit. It was to the highest class of the College, the natives learned alike in Sanscrit and in English, to that the Missionaries looked for the Agency which was to extend their efforts and the name of their Master through classes and in regions to themselves inaccessible.

They might have succeeded but for the clouds which settled down upon the later period of their lives, interrupting all effort, disheartening all supporters, unhinging and finally destroying the men themselves. To the Serampore controversy Mr. Marshman has devoted a considerable portion of his book. This was perhaps necessary, for the controversy was for years *the* difficulty of the subjects of his Memoir, but the space devoted to a story which is to ordinary readers wearisome has injured the literary value of his work. Calumny however lives, and we will try in a couple of pages to give the history of a dispute which did more injury to the Mission cause than all the oppression of Government or opposition of the respectables.

The Missionaries, shortly after their arrival at Serampore had purchased some premises on the banks of the river. The first purchase was a house which was paid for Mr. Marshman says :—

"The ever-recurring question of the premises, the stock theme of the committee, was revived under a new phase. Since that subject had last been brought under discussion, the missionaries had offered to divest themselves of all interest in this property except as tenants, and this might have been expected to bar any farther allusion to the question. It was, however, again obtruded on public notice. Dr. Carey and his associates had always affirmed that the premises were purchased with their funds. This fact had not only never been questioned for thirty years, but had been confirmed by the committee of the Society, who had stated officially, in 1818, that "a considerable part of the funds derived from the personal labours of the missionaries had been employed in the purchase and enlargement of the premises on which they resided." This assertion was now repudiated by the advocates of the committee. It appeared from the journals and correspondence of the missionaries between 1800 and 1804, that sums which had been received from Mr. Fuller either in bullion or by bank, had in some cases been employed in paying off instalments due on the purchase of the premises. Hence it was inferred that the premises had been paid for by the funds of the Society; that the missionaries had acted simply as agents, and that they could not equitably claim any interest whatever in them. Dr. Carey and Dr. Marshman, having resolved not to

reply to these pamphlets, sent their explanations to Mr. Hope. They stated that the Society had made collections only for the support of missionaries, and for printing the Bengalee Scriptures; that the committee had never authorised the missionaries to appropriate the funds sent them to any other object. They drew, therefore, on the treasurer for these objects and for no other. With a portion of the monies thus received, they liquidated some of the obligations they had contracted on account of the premises, providing the sums progressively required for the support of the missionaries and the printing of the Scriptures from their own income. "We paid for the first house," said Dr. Marshman, "partly with the identical rupees received for bills drawn for other purposes, and replaced the sum as it was needed for these objects." The same explanation was given regarding subsequent purchases. If the Society had ever contemplated the purchase of premises, or given any instructions to that effect, the sums received from them would justly have been deemed to have been expended in that object; and the houses and lands would have been to all intents and purposes their property. In that case, however, Mr. Fuller would not have neglected to inform the subscribers of this appropriation of 3000*l.*, forming a fourth of their contributions, which he never did. He considered the purchase to have been effected with funds over which the subscribers had no control. As no such instruction or authority was ever received at Serampore, the immediate appropriation of any specific sums obtained from England was simply a matter of account. The constituent of a banking-house might with equal justice claim a lien upon any bill which his deposit had been used in discounting. As the missionaries never laid any claim to the premises, from first to last, and had resented every attempt to fix this charge on them as a flagitious slander, the question of the purchase money is one of comparative insignificance, though in the inflamed state of feeling in the denomination, it was easily turned to the purpose of distraction."

A larger purchase is thus described:—

"The missionaries were now straitened for accommodation. The Mission consisted of eight families, including Mr. Felix Carey, who had been accepted as a missionary by the Society, and had been recently married. The school had considerably increased, and the printing office required enlargement. The premises to the east of the chapel happened at this time to be offered for sale, and they were purchased without hesitation for 1420*l.*, though the missionaries did not possess the means of paying for them. They sought a loan in Calcutta, but without success, though they were willing to submit to exorbitant terms. At length, a Mr. Maylin, who had realised a considerable fortune as a river trader, and who now took a deep interest in missionary operations, advanced them the requisite funds at 10 per cent. interest. The loan was gradually repaid from the proceeds of their labour; but for the property, they again made themselves trustees on behalf of the Society. The three parcels of ground, which henceforth formed the "Mission premises," and to which we shall have occasion to refer before the close of this work, had thus cost about 3000*l.*, or less than the amount of their net income for two years."

It is clear therefore that the premises were purchased entirely with their own money. The matter however seemed of little importance, for the Missionaries resolved that the whole should be held in trust for the Society, they remaining absolute managers. As an arrangement among men cordially united in one great cause this was an excellent



scheme. As a purely business transaction it was very indefinite and clumsy. Sixteen years however passed without a word on the matter, when the Society, embittered by the independence of the Missionaries, suddenly claimed an absolute right of property. They asserted that the incomes of the three men were at their disposal, and only used by their sufferance. The Missionaries, Mr. Ward being the warmest of the three, repudiated this pretension. They declared that the property had been given by them to the Society, but with the reservation that the Serampore Mission, themselves and their nominees, should retain the management and control in perpetuity. They had given £50,000 to the Mission, and to declare them unsafe managers was an insult to which they would not submit. The point with them was not the property. They seriously contemplated flinging it up, and purchasing Aldeen, then for sale, and a much more convenient spot. But they were determined to prevent the Society from forcing on them unwelcome coadjutors. It was independence for which they strove, and it was their independence the Society were determined to upset. The answer was received in England, and then the storm broke forth. Every man who hated them, every man who envied them, all the young men who had with difficulty endured their over-strict supervision joined the chorus of detraction. For sixteen years the contest continued, varied of course every now and then by new interludes of bitterness, but these two questions, the property right and independence were from first to last the true basis of disagreement. Throughout, the Missionaries maintained the same position, that the property belonged to the Society, but that the independent right of management remained with themselves, the donors. When the Society finally determined that the premises should be sold, they submitted to the decision, and it was only from the accident that a son of Dr. Marshman bought them at the price fixed by the Society Rs. 16,500, that they were not entirely disconnected from the Mission.

As to the substantive matter of the controversy the Missionaries appear to us altogether in the right, though there was a degree of indefiniteness in all their business arrangements often found among men absolutely sure of their own motives. As to the manner in which it was conducted we entertain more doubt. There are traces of exasperated feeling throughout the correspondence. There was moreover an obstinacy, an utter determination to accede to only one form of arrangement, for which circumstances did not appear to call. It would have been well at any stage of the controversy to have terminated it by removal to Aldeen, or submit it finally to arbitration, or go on fighting. At the same time there were full grounds

for irritation. The Committee at home were, with an exception or two, essentially low men, who thought espionage justifiable, and were aggrieved that a Missionary should out of his own money have a decent dinner or silver spoons. They demanded from Mrs. Marshman a list of her plate. They compelled the three to publish an account of their property, and then, as the account proved that they were poor and not rich, suppressed it. Still in spite of all this the controversy was to be lamented. From the moment the Serampore Mission proclaimed its independence, all trusts, premises, assistance, and every form of liability to the Society should have been at once brought to an end. The whole discussion if it teaches anything teaches this, that men of God if they have business to do should do it as business men, make every arrangement as hard and definite as if all sides were about to quarrel next quarter day.

Our notice of this Controversy reminds us that we have as yet said nothing of the book we are professing to review. The Controversy always excepted, which in its length and minuteness of detail is out of perspective, the work as a history is admirable. The author has gone to original sources for his facts, has collated them with an impartiality, almost strange when his known convictions are remembered, and has woven them into a narrative unsurpassed for lucidity and ease. The first chapter, for example, of the second volume contains in some fifty pages a really full history of the discussions which ended in the fall of the Company's territorial monopoly. No man who reads it fails to see how completely the liberal policy adopted, was due to the efforts of the religious world, how carelessly the Ministry of the day would have assented to a renewal of the old monopoly. A calm, almost a judicial, tone is maintained throughout, and the bitterest advocate of the ancient system would probably ask no fairer statement of his view of the discussion. The style is lucid to transparency, rising often, as in the following passage, to a not undignified eloquence:—

"The Serampore missionaries never considered themselves but as the simple pioneers of Christian improvement in India; and it is as pioneers that their labours are to be estimated. In the infancy of modern missions, it fell to their lot to lay down and exemplify the principles on which they should be organised, and to give a right direction to missionary efforts. They were the first to enforce the necessity of translating the Scriptures into all the languages of India. Their own translations were necessarily and confessedly imperfect, but some imperfections may be forgiven to men who produced the first editions of the New Testament in more than thirty of the oriental languages and dialects, and thus gave to the work of translation that impulse which has never subsided. They were the first to insist on the absolute exclusion of caste from the native Christian community and church. They established the first native schools for heathen children in the north of India, and organised the first college for the education of native catechists.

and itinerants. They printed the first books in the language of Bengal, and laid the foundation of a vernacular library. They were the first to cultivate and improve that language and render it the vehicle of national instruction. They published the first native newspaper in India, and the first religious periodical work. In all the departments of missionary labour and intellectual improvement they led the way, and it is on the broad foundation which they laid, that the edifice of modern Indian missions has been erected."

As a biography the work is perhaps less perfect. We obtain every fact of the lives of the three men, but of the motives on which personal facts must always be founded, we perceive but little. Their characters may be ascertained from a steady examination of their deeds, but they are hardly to be gathered from the lives. The author knew them so thoroughly, understood so perfectly the relation between their impulses and their work, that the smaller traits, the personal habits, the hurried words from which outside observers gather the substance of character, have seemed to him redundant. There is, for example, throughout the work scarcely a reminiscence of their conversation, or their habits, though Serampore swarms with traditions as familiar to the author as the Annual Reports. As a whole we believe the book will live, as a history of effort such as the world, while men strive and fail, will never cease to regard with the keen interest of individual sympathy.

The result of that effort is still buried in the future. For the present, four generations of Missionaries while they have accomplished enormous good, have made little apparent impression upon Hindooism. They have abolished Suttee, infanticide, religious suicide, and human sacrifice. They have removed the legal compulsion to celibacy from widows, and restrained the worst developments of polygamy. They have enforced public decency so far as the timidity of Government would allow, and have raised the education of the mass into the most pressing question of Indian statesmanship. They have completely changed the tone of Indian Society, till from the most godless and reckless of communities it has become one of the most thoughtful, decent, and philanthropic. They have scattered throughout the land a doubt of the permanence of Hindooism, a question whether it is after all the formula by which Millions can consent to guide their lives. They have weakened the influence of the priesthood, and impaired the authority of caste. Finally, they have raised up a body of some 180,000 Christians, of whom all are free from the bonds of heathenism, and a large number patient and devoted, though weak, followers of their Master. Much remains to be accomplished, and Christians weary of waiting are sometimes inclined to cry, "How long, O Lord! how long." Others speculate with more or

less of judgment on the future, which all alike believe to be full of hope. With that strange instinct for battle which is the root of the Teutonic character, the majority have become impressed with the idea that some battle of Armageddon, some tremendous and visible struggle between good and evil, is at hand, in which the giant fabric of Paganism will go down. That, we confess, is not our belief. We cannot forget that Christianity, though preached by apostles and testified to by martyrs, still struggled doubtfully with Paganism for six hundred years. Such, we fear, will be the case in India. Evangelization will proceed slowly through centuries in an ever widening circle. One caste will go, and another race will yield, until at length Christianity confident of strength, and abhorring evil with the violent energy which men who live in its presence always acquire, shall bid open idolatry to cease out of the land. It may live in holes and corners for centuries after that. It had not ceased in Italy in the twelfth century. But its vitality will be gone, and two hundred millions of men, their souls vivified by faith in Christ, their intellects cleared by a new philosophy, their perceptions widened by a novel privilege of travel, their frames restored by comparative chastity and full liberty of food, will commence that race in which the European world is now drawing rapidly to the goal. When that time arrives, and the Christian Bengalee looks back over the vista of years to the origin of that great change, the names of the Serampore Missionaries, first introducers of the Press, first successful teachers of the Gospel, will become once more to a new race, and in a different language, household words.

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